

Explaining employers' decision when employing refugees

Insights from a mixed method study



Universiteit Utrecht



Author: Joëlle van der Meer
Student number: 5997739
Date: 12 September 2018
Supervisor: dr. Laura den Dulk
Second supervisor: dr. Bert George
Universities: Erasmus University & Utrecht University
Research master Public Administration and Organizational Sciences

Voorwoord

Ter afsluiting van de tweejarige onderzoeksmaster Bestuurskunde en Organisatiewetenschappen, ligt hier voor u mijn afstudeerscriptie over vluchtelingen op de arbeidsmarkt. Naast het feit dat ik mijn scriptieperiode als uitdagend en intensief heb ervaren, heb ik dit ook met veel plezier geschreven.

In dit voorwoord wil ik graag een aantal mensen bedanken, die hebben geholpen bij de totstandkoming van deze scriptie. Allereerst wil ik Laura den Dulk bedanken voor het vertrouwen en de ondersteuning tijdens het schrijven van mijn onderzoek. Bedankt voor de inzichten en het aanreiken van de juiste handvaten, waardoor ik altijd met veel nieuwe energie weer verder kon gaan.

Daarnaast wil ik Bert George bedanken. Ik heb tijdens de research master al even les gehad van deze enthousiaste docent, maar ik wil hem verder bedanken voor de ondersteuning van mijn multilevel analyse. Deze onderzoeksmethode was nieuw voor mij, maar het heeft de resultaten van mijn scriptie goed gedaan, om deze techniek onder de knie te krijgen.

Ik ben met de thematiek vluchtelingen in aanraking gekomen, dankzij mijn onderzoeksstage bij het Verwey-Jonker Instituut. Ik wil mijn stagebegeleider Merel Kahmann daarom bedanken, ik heb veel gehad aan haar kennis en expertise over vluchtelingen. Ook is mijn enthousiasme voor onderzoek doen verder gegroeid, dankzij mijn stage bij dit onderzoeksinstituut en de gesprekken met Merel. Mijn dank gaat daarbij verder uit naar alle respondenten, die deel hebben genomen aan mijn onderzoek.

Ook ben ik mijn ouders dankbaar, ik heb tijdens mijn gehele studie veel steun aan hun gehad. Tot slot wil ik mijn vriend Thijs bedanken voor zijn steun en voor het meedenken over deze scriptie.

Joëlle van der Meer
Utrecht, 28 juli 2018

Abstract

Refugees have a disadvantaged position on the labour market, since their participation is relatively low. Although an increased number of employers is willing to employ a refugee, there is little attention to the perspective of the employer. This study explains why some employers employ a refugee while others do not. By combining interviews with a vignette study, it is found that in line with the human capital theory, speaking the Dutch language as a refugee favours the employment. A CV of a refugee appears to be less relevant, because most employers find it difficult to judge the relevance of prior education and prior work experience. Employers do however take the education of refugees into account when deciding whether or not to employ a refugee. Findings also indicate that refugees' health and motivation are necessary preconditions for the employment. Furthermore, several types of organizations are more likely to employ refugees than others, for instance when organizations have a higher degree of corporate social responsibility, when they have included diversity management practices or when they deal with vacancies that are hard to fulfil. Organizations also need the capacity to employ a refugee and the organization, including management and employees, should be willing to hire a refugee. Moreover, the environment of the organization explains employers' behaviour. Organizations that pay more attention to other organizations, which already had employed a refugee, appeared to be more willing to employ a refugee themselves. Finally, it can be concluded that a social policy support of municipalities influences the decision of employers whether or not to employ a refugee. Trial periods are used, in which employers test refugees without obligations. Besides, financial compensation and a contact person who gives individually-tailored support are additional explanations for employers' decision when employing a refugee.

Key words: Employers' behaviour, employment of refugees, mixed-method, vignette study

Table of contents

Voorwoord	3
Abstract.....	4
Table of contents	5
1. Introduction.....	7
1.1 Introduction	7
1.2 Research question	8
1.3 Contribution of the thesis	8
1.4 Structure of the thesis	9
2. Theoretical framework	10
2.1. Literature study on behaviour of employers regarding employing refugees	10
2.2. Rational choice theory and institutional theory.....	12
2.3. Theoretical framework	15
2.4. Hypotheses	23
2.5. Conceptual model	24
2.6. Operationalization	25
3. Research design	27
3.1. Mixed-method design	27
3.2. Qualitative study.....	27
3.3. Quantitative study	29
3.4. Reliability and validity	33
4. Results qualitative study	35
4.1. Descriptions employers	35
4.2. Economic reasons and social reasons.....	38
4.3. Social policy support	39
4.4. Selection criteria	43
4.5. Conclusions	47
5. Results quantitative study	51
5.1. Descriptive statistics	51
5.2. Correlations	51
5.3. Assumptions	52
5.4. Multilevel analysis	53
6. Conclusion	60
6.1. Conclusions	60
6.2. Discussion and directions for future research	64
7. References.....	67
Appendix A: coding tree.....	72

Appendix B: Vignette study	74
Appendix C: Scatterplot	77

1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The number of persons seeking asylum in Europe has significantly increased over the past ten years. In 2016, close to 1.000.300 asylum seekers have been registered in EU Member States, compared to 200.000 in 2008 (UNHCR, 2018). Conflicts and violence in other parts of the world make refugees seek to find safety beyond their region (UNHCR, 2018).

As a consequence, refugees are subject of considerable media and political interest within Europe, fuelled by numerous reports of increases in the volume of asylum seekers.

The UN, as stated in the UN Convention in Geneva in 1951, has defined a refugee as a person: *'Outside of his or her country of nationality who is unable or unwilling to return because of persecution or a well-founded fear of persecution on account of race, religion, nationality, membership in a particular social group, or political opinion'* (UNHCR, 2010).

In the Netherlands, asylum seekers are regarded as refugees, after an asylum procedure in which they can be granted a temporary residence status. Once they are officially recognized as refugees, they can stay in private accommodation within a municipality and can request a family reunion. Refugees, who are officially recognized, have the same rights as other citizens in the Netherlands (Bakker, 2015).

At the end of 2017, the Netherlands has registered 5818 asylum seekers, who are waiting for a legal residence permission and 103.860 officially recognized refugees (VluchtelingenWerk, 2018b). The countries Syria, Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran, Somalia and Eritrea account for the most refugees in the Netherlands (VluchtelingenWerk, 2018a).

The political and legislative agenda are concerned with the support and settlement of the refugees who have permission to live in the Netherlands. The first period after migration is shaped by the asylum procedure for those who need to request asylum, followed by the reception and housing of refugees. Next, one of the most important aspects in the integration process of refugees, is the arrangement of employment (European Parliament, 2016). Participating on the labour market as a refugee, increases being economically independent (European Parliament, 2016).

As established in the Participation Act (in Dutch: de Participatiewet), municipalities are responsible for the support of job seekers, which includes the group of refugees. Municipalities provide support to refugees in finding work, providing help in education and language and linking them to employers. Nevertheless, employers are essential in realising a successful arrangement for the labour market participation of refugees (Razenberg et al., 2017). In this research, employers are defined as *'Those responsible for recruitment in employing organizations effectively act[ing] as gatekeeper to the labour market'* (Maguire, 1992, p. 80).

Recent research of the Statistics Netherlands (CBS), however, indicates that only 4 per cent of the refugees found work after 1.5 years in the Netherlands and after 2.5 years this number has increased to 11 per cent (CBS, 2018). Refugees who have been in the Netherlands for a longer period of time also have a disadvantaged position on the labour market; only 46 per cent of these refugees is employed, and mostly in flexible, small contracts (VluchtelingenWerk, 2014).

Hence, The Netherlands Scientific Council for Government Policy (WRR) advised in a recent policy letter, that there is a need to prevent refugees from being dependent on benefits for too long, which happens too often (Engbersen et al., 2015).

The Social and Economic Council of the Netherlands (SER) concluded in 2016 that an increased number of employers is willing to invest in refugees. Although employers are positive towards hiring a

refugee, research showed that they want to have minimum concerns during this process (Razenberg & De Gruijter, 2016). It asks flexibility of employers, since refugees need extra support during the selection, recruitment and the introduction to the organization. Despite the fact that employers are essential with respect to the labour market participation of refugees, studying employers' behaviour when employing a refugee is an underdeveloped field (SER, 2016). The few studies that already have explored motivations and challenges, are mainly empirical and pay little attention to a deeper understanding of the phenomenon (OECD & UNHCR, 2016; Razenberg & de Gruijter, 2017; Hurstfield et al., 2004).

This study will therefore explain employers' behaviour when employing refugees, by embedding the phenomenon in a theoretical framework. By combining interviews with a vignette study, it tries to explain why certain employers have employed a refugee, while others have not. By doing this, it will explore under what conditions employers are willing to employ a refugee, in order to have minimum concerns as an employer. These conditions give a better understanding of the factors that shape the labour market participation of refugees.

Insights from two main theories, the rational choice theory and the institutional theory, will be used to understand aspects of employers' behaviour. Integrating the rational choice theory with the institutional theory can be used in diverse organizational contexts. For instance, studying early adoption of civil service reform (Tolbert & Zucker, 1983), or studying work-family arrangements in organizations (Den Dulk, 2001). The combination of this framework is also used to study diversity management practices within organizations (Yang & Konrad, 2011) and to explain convergence in public management reform (Pollitt, 2002). By focussing on employers' behaviour when employing refugees, this study will be the first one that applies the theoretical framework to this research domain. In this study, the rational choice theory assumes employers who base their strategy on beneficial alternatives. Employers choose the option that provides the highest benefits and the lowest costs. In this view, employers act rational by hiring refugees. On the other hand, institutional theorists emphasize that organizations operate within a wider environment. Institutional conditions, such as social policy support provided by municipalities, can influence the costs and benefits for employers.

1.2 Research question

The goal of this research is to explain the variation between employers regarding employing or not employing refugees and to make recommendations for policy.

This research will enhance the following research question:

What explains why some employers employ refugees while others do not?

In order to answer the research question, several sub questions are relevant:

1. To what extent do employers employ refugees?
2. Under what conditions are employers willing to employ a refugee?
3. What policy recommendations can be made, based on the insights of the conditions to employ a refugee?

1.3 Contribution of the thesis

This research is relevant in two ways. From a scientific perspective, it contributes to the underdeveloped field of explaining behaviour of employers regarding employing refugees (SER, 2016). Employers have an important role to play in increasing the labour market participation of

refugees. However, little is known about the perspective of employers and under what conditions they are willing to employ a refugee. Much is written about problems concerning the position of refugees and the experiences of refugees themselves, but few have paid attention to the employers' side of the labour market (Hurstfield et al., 2004).

Furthermore, the few studies that have a focus on the employers' perspective when employing refugees are mainly empirical and lack a theoretical framework (OECD & UNHCR, 2016; Razenberg & de Gruijter, 2017; Hurstfield et al., 2004). Therefore, these studies pay little attention to a deeper explanation of this phenomenon. In this study, insights from the institutional theory and the rational choice theory are integrated, which helps in explaining differences in employers' behaviour.

Explaining the phenomenon from a theoretical perspective makes this study relevant from a scientific perspective, as it makes a theoretical contribution.

Finally, while this study focuses on employers' decisions regarding employing refugees, prior research has predominantly studied employers' decision regarding experienced employees (Karpinska et al., 2013), high educated employees (Hosoda et al., 2012) and intermediate-level educated employees (Buers et al., 2018). As the group of refugees has increased over the past few years and this group of workers is vulnerable on the labour market, it is highly relevant to gain more knowledge about the employment of this group of workers.

Besides scientific reasons, this study is relevant for society as well. Over the past few years, there has been an increase in the number of refugees seeking asylum in Europe (Bakker et al., 2016).

Participation on the labour market is one of the most important factors favouring long-term integration into society then, because labour market integration increases being economically independent (European Parliament, 2016). For this reason, it is highly important to gain better insight into the labour market position of refugees. Most research has a focus on the labour market position of immigrants, but relatively few studies have examined the employment of refugees (de Vroome & van Tubergen, 2010). There is a need to gain insight into the employment of refugees, since data show lower levels of labour market participation of refugees, compared to other minority ethnic groups (Bakker, 2015). Authors argue that the group of refugees differ from other migrants (Bakker et al., 2016). Refugees start their legal stay in the Netherlands with a disadvantage position, compared to other migrants, due to refugees' motivation (flight) and the relatively long asylum procedure (Bakker, 2015). This current study thus contributes to the underdeveloped field of refugees.

Moreover, since employers are in the position to give refugees a job, they are needed in order to succeed in long-term integration into society. For these reasons, a central aspect to this research is to understand how willing employers are to employ a refugee. When there is a better understanding of why employers employ a refugee and what kind of support they need, the labour market position of refugees can be increased. The SER (2016) concluded that much more research is necessary to investigate the prevention of undesirable situations on the labour market. This research therefore contributes to the highly relevant field of refugee empowerment.

1.4 Structure of the thesis

This thesis is structured as follows. The first section has started with an introduction, the research question and the contribution of the thesis. In the second section, a theoretical framework is given which elaborates on motivations and barriers of employers when employing refugees and discusses the rational and institutional perspective. Based hereon, a theoretical model is developed which includes several hypotheses. In the third section, the research design is presented. Chapter 4 presents results of the qualitative study, while chapter 5 has a focus on quantitative results. The thesis ends with a conclusion and discussion of the main findings and includes future research directions.

2. Theoretical framework

The theoretical framework tries to give an answer to what extent employers employ refugees and what the explanation is for doing so or not doing so. The theoretical framework consists of three parts. The first part elaborates on motivations and challenges of employers when employing refugees. Secondly, two theoretical approaches, the institutional theory and the rational choice theory are discussed and integrated in a theoretical framework. In the final part, the insights are presented in a conceptual model and several hypotheses are formulated.

2.1. Literature study on behaviour of employers regarding employing refugees

In order to get a better understanding of the behaviour of employers when employing refugees, a literature study is performed in which several empirical articles are used. First, motivations of employers when employing refugees are discussed and secondly, challenges will be presented.

2.1.1. Motivations when employing refugees

Little is known about the behaviour of employers towards employing refugees. Only several studies have focused on motivations of employing refugees (SER, 2016).

A study that has investigated the employers' perspective, is for instance, the study of the OECD and UNHCR (2016). The OECD and the UNHCR (2016) organized a joint consultation with European employers from the private sector, to understand challenges faced by employers when employing refugees. Results indicate that many employers do not see an immediate business case for hiring refugees. Hence, the main motivation for particularly larger employers, is to enhance corporate social responsibility. They want, for instance, to support vulnerable workers by offering jobs or they wish to contribute to the efforts of governments of integrating refugees. In addition, employees within organizations sometimes find it motivating to work together with refugees, because they can contribute to the successful integration of refugees in their country (OECD & UNHCR, 2016). Findings of the OECD and UNHCR (2016) suggest that employers mentioned to a less extent that they wanted to benefit from the new pool of workers, in terms of meeting labour market needs. Razenberg and de Gruijter (2017) interviewed nine employers from the Netherlands who have employed a refugee, and three experts on labour market integration, to gain insight into experiences of employers. Although this study is relatively small and only includes employers who have employed a refugee, the insights give an understanding of motivations of employers. In this study, employers were intrinsically motivated to employ a refugee, since they wanted to contribute to the integration of refugees. Hence, corporate social responsibility was a central part of the identity of these organizations. Furthermore, this study found, in contrast to the study of the OECD and UNHCR (2016), that economic motivations did play a role when deciding to employ a refugee. For some employers, employing refugees was a way to fill vacancies. They needed flexible employees and considered that refugees can work just as hard as any other employee. Finally, employers strived to get more diversity on the work floor and refugees have additional skills, for example, knowing another language.

A case study of ten employers in the UK, who have employed a refugee, gives us insight into the behaviour of employers in the UK (Hurstfield et al., 2004). Senior managers, responsible for recruitment, training or diversity issues, have been interviewed in-depth, to explore attitudes and experiences of individual employers who have recruited refugees. Some employers recruited refugees, because of labour shortages, whereas for others it is an effort to promote diversity within the organization. Several employers in this study, hoped to benefit from a cross-cultural workforce, but emphasized that this only works, when it is carefully communicated with other employees. Employers also considered the strong work ethic of refugees as main motivation for the employment. Finally,

satisfaction for the employer, when providing work to refugees in order to retain their dignity and self-respect, is mentioned by employers in this study (Hurstfield et al., 2004).

2.1.2. Challenges when employing refugees

Although an increased number of employers have a positive attitude towards employing refugees, they want to have minimal concerns during this process (SER, 2016). This section elaborates on barriers faced by employers when employing refugees.

First of all, uncertainties about important aspects of refugees, related to the labour market, is determined as an important barrier (European Commission, 2016). There is, for instance, uncertainty about the rules governing the refugees rights to labour market access, but also about the educational level and labour market background of refugees (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2007). In line with this, there is a lack of knowledge about the length of stay, skills and qualifications of refugees and there are uncertainties about attitudes and expectations, which leads to employer's reluctance when employing a refugee (OECD & UNHCR, 2016).

Employers strive to get realistic information about the capacities, needs and obligations of refugees, such as language training or schooling (SER, 2016). Research of Razenberg and de Gruijter (2017) suggests that some employers have uncertainties about the language skills and communication with refugees. For professions that work with strict safety instructions, it can become problematic when there is no clear communication possible.

Secondly, the transferability of certificates and other labour market-related information between different organizations, such as municipalities, asylum seekers centres and employers, is not very smooth. Employers identified this as a barrier to employ refugees (SER, 2016). A survey among municipalities gave the insight that most employers do not feel the support of Dutch municipalities. Employers mostly miss information about the language level of refugees and about their juridical position, in order to work in their organization (Razenberg & de Gruijter, 2016). Research showed that municipalities can play a bigger role in providing information to employers by answering their questions and by being realistic, but also by introducing potential refugees to employers. Hence, cooperation between municipalities, the public employment service, social partners, educational institutions and employers have to be improved, in order to facilitate the matching process between refugees' skills and local demand (OECD & UNHCR, 2016).

Next, there are concerns about additional costs when hiring refugees, since employers want to have minimum administrative costs (SER, 2016). Early investments are often needed while employing refugees, because refugees' skills are mostly not up-to-date. A part of this investment falls under the responsibility of employers, but a return of the investment may not be immediately visible. Concerns about financial risks are also related to the (psychical) health problems of refugees, as they may not be able to work for a longer period (Razenberg & de Gruijter, 2017).

Moreover, concerns about a lower productivity of refugees, due to a lack of host-country language skills, limit the employability of refugees (OECD & UNHCR, 2016). Furthermore, there are concerns regarding cultural differences, for instance not having any experience with female co-workers before. Refugees might have different cultural attitudes, which will need to be managed in a way that it will not lead to difficulties on the work floor (OECD & UNHCR, 2016).

The OECD and UNHCR (2016) found the argument that the political sensitivity around refugees limits the employability of refugees, since employers do not want the risk of politicising the workplace. Employers, in this study, reported mixed reactions from employees, ranging from enthusiasm to disapproving reactions when working together with people from different cultures. Therefore, employers may need to develop antidiscrimination and diversity policies. Moreover, they may need to manage communication strategies towards their clients and stakeholders to explain their decisions for employing refugees (OECD & UNHCR, 2016). This is in line with the study of

Hurstfield et al. (2004) who noticed a reluctance among employers of becoming public about employing refugees. The main reason for their fear is being targeted for negative media attention, as employers believe that the public perception towards refugees is predominantly negative, which in turn would affect customers and other employees.

To summarise, literature suggests various motivations associated with the employment of refugees. Employers may find it important to help workers who cannot make it on their own on the labour market. Being socially responsible and creating a more diversified workforce are main motivations. Another motivation is to benefit from a new pool of workers. Yet, employers face challenges when employing refugees. Uncertainties about refugees rights to labour market access, qualifications, labour market background and skills limit the decision to employ refugees. Moreover, challenges are driven by the weak cooperation between employers and other relevant organizations. Finally, striving for minimal administrative costs, expecting a lower productivity of refugees and having concerns regarding cultural differences and political sensitivity in the workplace decreases employers' willingness to employ a refugee.

The literature thus gives an overview of motivations and challenges when employing refugees. However, in order to understand behaviour of employers, it is relevant to explain the decision to employ a refugee, from theoretical assumptions. In the next section, behaviour of employers is embedded in a theoretical framework.

2.2. Rational choice theory and institutional theory

Two main theories, the rational choice theory and the institutional theory are presented. This study uses insights from both perspectives to explain the variance between employers when employing refugees.

2.2.1. Rational choice theory

The rational choice theory helps in understanding the decision-making mechanisms of actors, since choices are central in this theory (Den Dulk, 2001). In this perspective, there is the assumption that actors are rational individuals who base their strategy on beneficial alternatives. The rational choice theory emphasizes the conscious decision-making process of employers, in which self-interest is a central element. Employers choose the option that provides the highest benefits and the lowest costs. Choices are therefore calculated choices (Pollitt, 2002).

Theorists from the rational choice perspective assume that actors make decisions based on utility maximalization (Pollitt, 2002). If one option is more efficient, it will replace the other option. Rational theorists therefore explain and justify actions, based on the 'logic of consequences'. Actors have fixed preferences and behave on the basis of calculations of its consequences (Pollitt, 2002).

Moreover, the rational choice approach assumes that organizations are driven by competition and the need for efficiency. The most efficient organization will eventually win out (Ostrom, 1991).

Employers in this perspective are considered as active actors when employing refugees.

From a rational choice theory, employers make rational and economic decisions when hiring new employees. The employer makes his optimal decision, about what kind of workers they seek to fill their jobs, through a systematic process. Firstly, he sets goals and secondly, the employer determines all the various options for achieving these goals. Then, he gathers information, including costs and benefits and finally, he compares all the options and selects the most optimal one (Harcourt et al., 2005). Employers take this decision under uncertainty, because it is difficult to assess the productivity of an applicant. An employer will only hire a refugee, when he or she is expected to contribute to

achieve organizational goals (Karpinska et al., 2010). Hence, applicants will be evaluated by employers, based on their human capital.

Within the human capital theory, employers are considered as rational actors who select new employees on the basis of their human capital, such as work experience, language, health and education. Employers only invest in new employees, when they believe their investment will be worthwhile (Kanas & van Tubergen, 2009). Assumptions underlying the human capital theory are that individual skills determine labour market success. There is a cost-benefit relation among investment in human capital and whether costs in terms of greater productivity are worthwhile (de Vroome & van Tubergen, 2010). Employers act rational by selecting on the basis of the human capital of refugees (Bills, 2003). According to human capital theorists, the more talented, skilled and capable people are, the more they have labour market participation opportunities. Human capital is therefore often measured in terms of education, language, previous work experience and health (Kanas & van Tubergen, 2009).

To summarize, within the rational choice theory, employers select new employees on the basis of beneficial alternatives. A refugee will only be selected when an employer considers him or her as a valuable worker. In order to make this decision, employers look at the human capital of refugees as indicator of productivity. Human capital, such as education, work experience, language and health then determines whether an employer believes his investment is worthwhile, in terms of a cost-benefit relation. Employers thus look at refugee characteristics to decide to employ refugees or not. By specifying relevant refugee characteristics, it is possible to explain why certain employers are more willing to employ refugees, than others. Relevant refugee characteristics are discussed in the next section.

2.2.2. Institutional theory

As a reaction on the rational perspective, which ignores the role of identities, rules and institutions in shaping human behaviour, the institutional theory has been on the rise. This theory has made a significant contribution to explain organizational behaviour (March & Olsen, 1998). Institutional theorists assume that employers are not only driven by the most efficient decision, but also by taking the institutional environment into account. Organizations are embedded in a larger cultural and political context, which influences the organization. In order to understand actions of organizations, an analysis of the social environment is needed (Yang & Conrad, 2011). Institutions can be understood as regulative institutions, such as the law and rules, normative institutions such as social and professional norms and cognitive institutions, which includes cultures and ethics (Scott, 1995). An institutional theorist thus emphasizes the role of institutions in the understanding of human actions within an organization (March & Olsen, 1998). Employers should not only take economic considerations into account, but also have to meet regulations, norms, laws and social expectations (Den Dulk, 2001). According to institutionalists, there is a need for legitimacy of the organization in the wider structure. Organizations therefore justify choices, which are based on social norms (Pollitt, 2002; Ostrom, 1991). The concept of organizational legitimacy, which refers to the acceptance of the organization by its external environment, can then be introduced, to get a better understanding of how institutional factors influence recruitment outcomes (Harcourt et al., 2005). Legitimacy is based on socially agreed norms, but these norms and values may differ between industries. Employers may want to contribute to the integration of refugees and want to be seen as a 'good' employer, but only when this norm is socially agreed within the institutional environment of values and norms. The recruitment strategies of employers should therefore conform to bigger industry norms in which employers look at each other (Williamson, 2000). Legitimizing the employment of refugees thus matters within the institutional

perspective, for instance, to secure stakeholders' trust, customer loyalty and to remain attractive to qualified personnel (Harcourt et al., 2005; Bills, 2003).

Although early work within the institutional approach assumed that organizations are passive actors, more recent work adopts the idea that actors make strategic choices (Goodstein, 1994). Organizations can feel institutional pressure to employ a refugee, but instead of complying in a passive way, they respond strategically to these pressures. Oliver (1991) developed a theoretical framework in which she distinguishes five types of organizations' reactions to institutional pressure. Organizations may fully conform, make a compromise in which they partly comply, make symbolic gestures, reject or even manipulate with institutional demands. The way organizations respond, depends on a number of factors such as the cause of institutional pressure, and whether it is in line with organizational goals (Oliver, 1991).

Goodstein (1994) draws on the theoretical framework of Oliver (1991) and shows that employers vary in the way they respond to institutional pressure. Employers thus respond strategically to institutional pressures when employing a refugee. Institutional theorists sometimes refer to the 'Logic of appropriateness' (Pollitt, 2002). Actions are based on normative appropriate behaviour, and are mostly rule-based. Employers are imagined to follow rules and practices that are socially constructed and publicly known (March & Olsen, 1998). Being seen to act appropriately is more important than maximizing efficiency.

Besides focusing on the reaction of organizations to institutional pressure, institutional theorists point to similarities between organizations. Organizations change, as a result of a process that makes organizations more similar, without necessarily making them more efficient, as rational theorists suggest. When an increased number of organizations adopt a certain policy, it becomes institutionalized within the organizational structure (Tolbert & Zucker, 1983) This process is linked to the concept of isomorphism in literature (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). DiMaggio and Powell (1983) have influentially written about the identification of three mechanisms of isomorphic: coercive, mimetic and normative isomorphism. Coercive isomorphism occurs when an organization changes, because of political pressure. This mechanism is linked to the environment of the organization and is therefore external to the field (Frumkin & Galaskiewicz, 2004). Government regulation, intended to employ refugees, but also societal pressure can force employers to employ refugees. Organizations adopt these new structures, defined by law, in their recruitment practices in order to minimize conflicts (Yang & Konrad, 2011). In the Netherlands, there are no governmental regulations that can force employers to employ refugees, therefore this study expects that the influence of coercive isomorphism will be small.

Uncertainty is a second mechanism that encourages imitation (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Mimetic isomorphism relates to uncertainty in the environment, and as a consequence, organizations model themselves to other successful competitors. As employing refugees often features uncertainties, employers are likely to imitate or learn from those who have already successfully employed refugees. The third institutional pressure for employing refugees is normative isomorphism. Normative isomorphism is associated with the development of professional norms and standards. It is expected that normative pressure varies according to sectors or activities. In sectors where employers interact extensively, for instance because of belonging to an association of similar organizations, they may learn from each other about employing refugees, compared to organizations that operate in isolation (Frumkin & Galaskiewicz, 2004).

Employers can also feel normative pressure when they operate in a climate in which there is public awareness for the employment of refugees. More and more municipalities in the Netherlands have started developing social policies to support the labour market participation of refugees (Razenberg et

al., 2017). Public attention to the low labour market participation of refugees increases new social expectations for employers. Employers are able to decide to comply to these new expectations, and employing refugees then becomes legitimized within the institutional context. If organizations feel coercive, mimetic or normative pressure, they tend to develop similar structures which results in organizational homogeneity (Yang & Konrad, 2011).

To summarize, employers within an institutional perspective act in a responsible way, when there are institutions that put pressure on them. However, employers respond differently to the same institutional environment, since some types of organizations are more sensitive to institutional pressure than others (Goodstein, 1994). Organizational characteristics are therefore included in this theoretical framework. Besides focussing on organizational characteristics, the institutional context matters, since it has been highly relevant for employers that employing refugees is legitimized within their institutional context. By specifying relevant organizational characteristics and the institutional context, it is possible to explain why some organizations have employed refugees while others have not. Table 2.1 gives an overview of the key characteristics of the rational choice theory and the institutional theory.

	Rational choice theory	Institutional theory
Focus on	Decision-making mechanism	Analyzing the social environment
Central assumption	Employers are rational individuals who choose option with highest benefits and lowest costs	Employers are active actors who take the institutional environment into account and strive for legitimacy
Logic of	Logic of consequences	Logic of appropriateness
Employing refugees	Refugees are selected on their human capital. Employing a refugee when benefits exceed additional costs	When organizations feel institutional pressure; some organizations will be more sensitive to institutional pressures than others

Table 2.1. Overview rational choice theory and institutional theory

2.3. Theoretical framework

This study tries to explain why some employers are more willing to employ a refugee than others. Insights from two main theories, the rational choice theory and the institutional theory, are used to understand aspects of employers' behaviour. The rational choice theory offers a framework in which the decision of employers is a central item. Employers employ new employees in order to maximize their profits, and they act rational by selecting refugees, based on their human capital. In other words, employers will only employ refugees, when the benefits exceed additional costs. In addition, insights from the institutional theory have been supplemented, since the decision to employ a refugee is always embedded in the broader context of the institutional environment. Employing refugees should be legitimized within the wider institutional context, therefore employers can feel institutional pressure. Institutional pressure, such as social policy support, influences decisions of employers, when considering the costs and benefits of available options. This study focuses on employers as the unit of analysis. Even while various actors are involved in the decision making process in organizations, it is assumed that it is possible to recognise a general organizational interest (Den Dulk, 2001). Employers may respond differently to institutional pressure, since their costs and benefits differ. In this study, the rational choice theory and the institutional theory are considered as complementary to each other.

Hence, the rational choice theory and the institutional theory are integrated (Den Dulk, 2001; Pollitt, 2002). Employers employ refugees, when the benefits are higher than the costs, and organizational goals and self-interest are taken into account. However, this decision is also influenced by the organizational and institutional context, therefore different aspects of the institutional environment are analysed. By specifying relevant conditions for employing refugees, it is possible to explain the variation between employers. Refugee characteristics, such as education, work experience, Dutch language skills, and health, affect the cost-benefits of employing refugees. Furthermore, characteristics of the organization are used to analyse costs and benefits of employers when employing a refugee. Insights of the rational choice theory are complemented, by analysing the influence of institutional conditions, since organizations operate within a different environment. For some types of organizations, it will be more likely to employ refugees than for others, when including the role of social policy support and the practices of other organizations. Finally, different aspects of the institutional environment, such as social policy and the behaviour of other organizations are considered in terms of institutional characteristics.

Undermentioned, refugee characteristics, organizational characteristics and institutional characteristics are discussed.

2.3.1. Refugee characteristics

The objective of this study is to explain the variation between employers regarding employing or not employing refugees. Employers act rational by selecting on the human capital of refugees, therefore relevant refugee characteristics are taken into account. Below, education, prior work experience, Dutch language skills and health are discussed separately.

Education

According to the human capital theory, the more employees are schooled, the better the productivity of the worker (Bills, 1992). Therefore, employers use education as selection criteria, when deciding whether or not to employ a refugee.

Several studies, however, indicate that educational qualifications obtained in the country of origin are not always recognized in the Netherlands (Hartog & Zorlu, 2009; Kanas & van Tubergen, 2009).

The WRR suggests that certifications of refugees are sometimes not valid in the Netherlands or do not offer much perspective. They conclude that certifications obtained in the Netherlands or officially recognized education make refugees more valuable to employers (Engbersen et al., 2015). De Vroome and van Tubergen (2010) state that the lack of education obtained in the host country predicts employers' reluctance when employing refugees. Employers are uncertain about the knowledge and skills of refugees (Kanas & van Tubergen, 2009). This is in line with the study of Bakker (2015) who found, based on a quantitative research about employed and non-employed refugees, that it does not matter whether a refugee has obtained a qualification in the Netherlands or has a foreign degree that is accredited in the Netherlands. In order to hire new employees, it is most important that the quality of the education is clear. Diploma accreditation is therefore crucial for the labour market participation of refugees. Only a third of the refugees in the study of Bakker (2015) have successfully accredited a foreign diploma yet. Employers do take potential training costs into account and therefore favour applications from those who require less training (Karpinska et al., 2010).

Although education of refugees obtained in the country of origin is sometimes hard to recognize for employers, they prefer refugees with education above refugees without education. Education is expected to increase employees functioning in an organisation (Buers et al., 2018). Employers are more likely to employ refugees, when a refugee has more educational background, since they have to invest less in the human capital of refugees. *Hence, it is expected that employers are more willing to employ refugees who have obtained a relevant education.*

Work experience

Prior work experience provides marketable skills and abilities relevant to job performance, therefore work experience makes applicants more valuable to employers (Bills, 2003).

Literature, however, identifies a lack of work experience as a barrier to employ refugees (Engbersen et al., 2015; Bloch, 2007). Two reasons for this recruitment difficulty can be distinguished.

First, the lack of recognized work experience is identified as a barrier. Several studies have shown that when refugees arrive in their new host country, they have varied employment profiles, including experiences across a wide spectrum of professions and skill levels (Bloch, 2007). However, previous work experience will not always be recognized by Dutch employers, because of a lack of evidence of past achievements, such as certificates and employer references (Bloch, 2007).

The second reason is the lack of work opportunities as a consequence of intermissions in the working life of refugees. Before refugees obtaining a formal status in the Netherlands, they may have spent months or even years in asylum seekers centres, waiting for an official refugee status. The asylum procedure is a relatively long period in the Netherlands, which negatively affects the employment position of refugees (De Vroome & van Tubergen, 2010). Hence, the first period for a refugee is characterised by a busy period of time, in which one moves into a new house, starts with civil integration courses and begins looking for education or work (Engbersen et al., 2015). These intermissions in their working life are then caused by the duration of the flight, the period in asylum seekers centres and the busy period after obtaining a formal status (Dagevos, 2011).

The lack of previous work experience thus seems to be a recruitment difficulty that employers deal with. However, refugees who have obtained previous work experience, are expected to contribute to the goals of organizations and may therefore be more attractive for employers. Prior work experience thus makes refugees more valuable to employers. *This study therefore expects that it is more likely that employers employ a refugee who has more previous work experience.*

Dutch language skills

Language skills form an important determinant of the human capital theory, as it is a requirement for most employers that their employees know the language of the host country. Refugees arrive in the host country without any knowledge of the language. Engbersen et al. (2015) conclude that the lack of knowing the Dutch language is one of the main reasons for employers not to employ refugees.

Speaking the language of the host country is needed for the communication in the workplace and essential for safety reasons. Adding to this, refugees sometimes lack 'soft skills' requirements as communicating clearly with customers or colleagues, caused by their minimal language skills (Colic-Peisker & Tilbury, 2007). Research of Dagevos (2011) shows that refugees who have followed language courses or civic integration courses, have more opportunities to be employed. Better language proficiency therefore increases the willingness for employers to employ refugees, because it makes refugees more productive within the organization. In this way, employers will be more convinced that their investment to employ a refugee, will be worthwhile (De Vroome & van Tubergen, 2010). *This study therefore suggests that it is more likely that employers employ refugees who speak the Dutch language.*

Health

Health of refugees is regarded as a relevant dimension, as it is assumed that employers evaluate the applicant's health situation when considering the desirability of employing refugees (Kanas & van Tubergen, 2009; Becker, 2007). In an earlier study of Karpinska et al. (2013) who investigated the desirability of managers' decision to retain older workers, it is found that this decision is influenced by the health of the worker. Workers who are in a bad health situation put productivity and performance

continuity at risk. Hence, managers were more likely to retain workers who were in good health (Karpinska et al., 2013).

However, studies have shown that refugees face barriers as a consequence of physical and mental conditions, such as post-traumatic stress disorder, depression and/or anxiety (Engbersen et al., 2015). Many refugees departed from turbulent places and war zones, which has an impact on their physical and mental wellbeing (Abdelkerim & Grace, 2012). Experiences in the host country, such as the inadequate arrangement of housing, family disruption and the feeling of being lonely are also identified by refugees as causes of health problems (De Vroome & van Tubergen, 2010).

Research of the Health Council of the Netherlands (2016) found that 13 to 25 per cent of the refugees deal with symptoms as post-traumatic stress disorder and depression, hence these refugees have a disadvantaged position on the labour market. Employers see unhealthy employees as less productive and a higher chance to be absent, therefore they may only be willing to employ a refugee who is in good health. *The health situation of refugees is therefore considered as precondition, which is necessary for the employment of refugees.*

2.3.2. Organizational characteristics

Besides refugee characteristics, the type of organization also affects the willingness to employ a refugee. It will be more likely for some types of organizations to employ refugees than for others, based on the cost-benefit relation and the environment they operate in. Six relevant organizational characteristics are considered in this theoretical framework, based on the literature and are discussed below.

Economic position

The economic position of the organization is associated with the behaviour of employers when employing refugees. An employer is more likely to take risks or to make investments within a stable economic position and there will also be more available resources to adopt new recruitment strategies (Den Dulk, 2001). Employers with a good economic position will have more opportunities to invest in the employment of refugees, for instance by investing in additional education or language training. They will be more willing to take the risk of investing in refugees. Employers with a bad economic position will be more reluctant in employing refugees, since time and money are often needed as an investment. Hence, concerns about additional costs when hiring refugees will play a bigger role for employers with a bad economic position. *This study expects that employers with a good economic position are more likely to employ refugees.*

Level of difficulty fulfilling vacancies

Macro level developments, such as economic growth and labour market shortages, are important conditions for the willingness of employers to employ refugees (European Commission, 2017). A tight labour market is associated with high capacity utilisation and as a consequence, it might be difficult for employers to find new employees. Employers who face structural or incidental labour shortages will be more inclined to hire refugees as a remedy. Employers will tend to employ a worker from the group of refugees, because the costs of the investment will be lower than the benefits. The influence of macro level developments on managers' decisions to employ new employees, is shown in several studies (Karpinska et al., 2013; Buers et al., 2018). While Karpinska et al., 2013 focused on the employment of early retirees, Buers et al., 2018, have studied the labour market opportunities for young employees with intermediate-level education. In both studies, it is found that labour market shortages increase the probability of job retention. On the other hand, employers who do not deal with labour-force shortages, will give less priority to employing refugees, since these organizations do not need additional employees. The level of difficulty of fulfilling vacancies thus matters with respect to

employing refugees. *It is therefore expected that having vacancies that are difficult to fulfil, changes the cost-benefit relation in a way that employers are more willing to employ refugees.*

Size

The size of the organization may also influence the decision of employers towards hiring a refugee (Den Dulk, 2001). Visibility of the organization and the presence of capacities and skills explain this. Institutional pressure, coming from social expectations to employ refugees, influences an employer's decision. Large organizations are often more visible and will feel more normative pressure to employ these workers. Employing refugees can improve the image and social status of the employer. In a number of studies within the domain of work-family issues, researchers have found a relation between size and visibility (Ingram & Simons, 1995; Goodstein, 1994; Den Dulk et al., 2013). Goodstein (1994), for instance, found that large firms are under pressure to maintain their legitimacy and are therefore involved in work-family initiatives. This argument applies in the case of employers' involvement in employing refugees. Large organizations are under greater pressure to employ a refugee, compared to small organizations.

Moreover, large employers will have more capacities and skills to employ refugees. Refugees mostly need more individual attention and time compared to native workers, to get used to the Dutch workplace and to get started within the organization. Besides, refugees often need to follow additional training (Razenberg & de Gruijter, 2017). Large organizations will have more capacities to employ refugees, by organizing the right support, such as a tutor and language coaches to improve the Dutch language. For small organizations, it could be too costly to provide the support and training what is necessary before a refugee can work independently. Since large organizations have more resources to employ a refugee, the benefits will be greater than the costs. *This study assumes that large employers will be more likely to employ refugees than small employers, because large employers are more often sensitive to pressure and have more capacities to employ refugees.*

Public/ private organizations

The likelihood of employing refugees is also influenced by the fact whether an organization is from the public or the private sector. Public organizations are often more visible, because they get more media and political attention, while private sector organizations are more often isolated (Azmat & Zutshi, 2012). For public organizations, being in the public eye can form a motivation to employ refugees in order to be an example for other organizations to behave in a responsible way. For private organizations, types of facilities promoted by governmental policies are more important. Public organizations will be more sensitive to institutional pressures, because they strive for social legitimacy. Consequently, the costs of not responding to the institutional pressure will be higher for public organizations than for private organizations (Den Dulk et al., 2013). Frumkin & Galaskiewicz, (2004) found that public sector organizations are more sensitive to institutional pressures, compared to organizations in the business sector. Public organizations often have a lack of accountability for performance indicators, therefore outputs are difficult to evaluate which makes them more sensitive to institutional pressures. *This study also expects that public organizations are more likely to employ a refugee, when compared with private sector organizations.*

Diversity management

Diversity management is an organizational program that is aimed at offering minority groups access to the labour market, in order to benefit from the diversity within the company (Risberg & S oderberg, 2008). Diversity management practices consist of several formalized practices implemented by employers to manage diversity effectively (Yang & Conrad, 2011). Kossek and Pichler (2006) identified three types of diversity management practices: promoting perceptions of organizational

inclusion, reducing discrimination and increasing financial competitiveness. Refugees can be regarded as an ethnic minority group, from non-Western countries. Since employing refugees increases the diversity on the work floor, it can be regarded as a diversity management practice. The aim of enhancing diversity management is to increase, for instance, the creativity and flexibility within the organization, as diverse teams bring more perspectives into problem solving than homogeneous teams (Risberg & Sjøderberg, 2008). Hence, diversity management is aimed at improving the performance of the organization, which can form a motivation for employers to employ refugees. Employing refugees is then a rational decision, when benefits exceed additional costs.

Further, employers can feel pressure from the institutional context when implementing diversity management practices. For example government regulations, which stimulate the employment of ethnic-minorities, result in the development of recruitment practices intended to get more diversity or to hire vulnerable workers (Yang & Konrad, 2011). Organizations can also have diversity management practices, because of uncertainty about the consequences of having diversity among employees. Employers then model themselves to other competitors who have already employed refugees. *It is expected that employers who have diversity management practices as recruitment strategy are more likely to employ refugees.*

Corporate social responsibility

Although employers strive to achieve goals in the most efficient way, research suggests that corporations sometimes have responsible commitment to society. For instance, by supporting community activities, giving to charity, treating their workers and customers decently and maintaining standards of honesty and integrity (Campbell, 2007). Corporate social responsibility is difficult to define, since it is highly context-dependent (Azmat & Zutshi, 2012). Yet, most researchers define this concept as the decision of companies to contribute to a better society and cleaner environment, by integrating social and environmental issues in their business plan (Vuontisjärvi, 2006; Campbell, 2007). The definition of corporate social responsibility has two components. First, corporate social responsibility should not harm stakeholders, such as customers, employees or investors and second, it should become accountable to a wider audience (Campbell, 2007). Employing refugees can be regarded as an activity of corporate social responsibility, because it contributes to a better integration of refugees into society.

The motivation for a company to act in a socially responsible way can be explained in two ways: outcomes can be related to better performance and the institutional environment of the organization can play a role. Behaving in a social way might satisfy various stakeholders, which increases organizational financial performance. Furthermore, employing refugees as part of corporate social responsibility helps building a positive imago with customers, investors, bankers and suppliers, therefore it affects the organizational reputation (Orlitzky et al., 2003). Finally, evidence in the economic literature suggests that when corporations employ refugees, it can increase current employees' goodwill, which in turn may improve financial outcomes (Orlitzky et al., 2003). Acting socially responsible has then beneficial outcomes. Besides from rational motivations, behaving in a socially responsible way can also stem from a desire to maintain credibility and legitimacy as an actor in an institutional, shared environment (Jamila, 2008). Legitimacy is based on socially agreed norms, but these norms and values may differ between industries. Employers may want to contribute to the integration of refugees and want to be seen as a 'good' employer, but only when this norm is socially agreed within the institutional environment of values and norms. Recruitment strategies of employers should therefore conform to bigger industry norms in which employers look at each other. When more employers follow the standard of employing refugees, other employers will imitate each other.

Organizations then feel mimetic or normative pressure to behave in a socially responsible way, in order to maintain their reputation and to gain legitimacy.

This study expects that employers with a high degree of corporate social responsibility are more likely to employ refugees than employers with a low degree of corporate social responsibility.

2.3.3. Institutional context

Organizations are embedded in a different environment. Social policies, provided by municipalities, but also the practices of other organizations, limit or encourage organizational decision-making about employing a refugee. Relevant institutional characteristics are therefore taken into account.

Practices of other organizations

The willingness to employ a refugee is influenced by the way organizations pay attention to the practices of other organizations. Literature suggests that employers model themselves to other organizations and especially in a situation in which there is much uncertainty, organizations tend to imitate each other (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Yang & Konrad, 2011). This expectation is supported by the empirical study of Ingram and Simons (1995). They found, within the field of work-family issues, that organizations that pay more attention to other organizations are more likely to adopt work-family arrangements. When organizations are more aware of other organizational practices, they compare themselves to the standards of the organizational field, when making a decision. The study of Ingram and Simons (1995) can be applied to this specific research issue. Organizations look at each other, in order to learn from those who have successfully employed refugees.

Furthermore, belonging to a network of similar organizations, in which organizations are connected to each other and share experiences, also influences the willingness to employ refugees. When organizations interact extensively with each other, and they operate in a climate in which there is public awareness for the employment of refugees, they might feel normative pressure to follow (Ingram & Simons, 1995). Employers can then decide to comply to these expectations, by employing a refugee. The behaviour of other employers can on the one hand lead to imitating behaviour and on the other hand put pressure on organizations to employ refugees. *It is therefore suggested that employers who pay attention to other organizations that have employed a refugee, are more likely to employ a refugee.*

Social policy support

Municipalities are responsible for the support of refugees, which is established in the Participation Act (Participatiewet). Research shows us that one out of six municipalities in the Netherlands has additional policies to support refugees on the labour market, and half of the municipalities are developing policies to increase the labour market position of refugees (Razenberg et al., 2017). The extent to which municipalities make social policies to support refugees is highly dependent on political assumptions. Supporting refugees has attracted a great deal of political, policy and public attention. Municipalities saw the emergence of negative media attention about asylum seekers who want to take advantage of the Dutch welfare state by getting access to housing, benefits and employment. Creating policies to support refugees is at the expense of the support for other citizens. However, others have pointed towards the duty to help those who are unable to return to their country of origin. As a consequence, municipalities have found themselves torn between their obligation to provide help to the integration of refugees, and their increased concern about the costs of the support for refugees (Bakker, 2015). Yet, in a survey in which more than 200 municipalities were involved, the political support and motivation to introduce social policies for refugees exists in 85 per cent of the municipalities (Razenberg & de Ruijter, 2016).

As a result, municipalities have created several drivers and triggers for employers to stimulate the decision of employers to employ a refugee. Support can be distinguished between financial support and other support. Financial support consists of fiscal benefits, such as discounts on employee insurances, subsidy for wages and stimulation premium (Werkwijzer Vluchtelingen, 2018). Another financial contribution, which can influence the decision to employ a refugee, is getting compensated for additional costs, such as travel expenses or additional trainings (Werkwijzer Vluchtelingen, 2018). Further, municipalities offer support by creating opportunities to employ a refugee for a short period of time and during this period, employers do not have to pay the refugee and are free for any obligation. Next, municipalities organize meetings in which employers get in touch with refugees to get to know each other. Both initiatives are aimed at connecting refugees to employers, since the lack of personal contact is marked as a barrier to labour market participation of refugees (SER, 2016). By increasing personal contact between employers and refugees, employers create a degree of goodwill towards refugees. Finally, offering a contact, in the form of a jobcoach who is able to answer questions and to help employers, is another way to support employers. Contact persons are either from municipalities, but sometimes they are self-employed job coaches who are financed by municipalities. On the one hand, social policy support is a driver for employers, because it influences costs and benefits of the employment of refugees. For instance, when an employer is in doubt whether or not employing a refugee is beneficial, municipalities' social support, such as a subsidy, can change the cost-benefit relationship. Therefore an employer is more willing to invest in the employment of refugees.

Next to the change in the cost-benefit relation, governmental intervention that stimulates employers to employ refugees, creates normative pressure on organizations, by giving rise to new social expectations (Den Dulk, 2001). Social policies create a climate in which employers are expected to be active by employing refugees. The introduction of governmental intervention creates a public awareness, and as a result, organizations feel pressure to employ refugees.

Although the majority of municipalities has organized social policies to support employers, there are many differences between municipalities (Razenberg et al., 2017). In some municipalities, there will be more policies to support the employment of refugees than in other municipalities. These differences between governmental interventions influence to what extent employers employ refugees.

Organizations also need to be informed about policies in their municipality. Clear information or personal contact between municipalities and employers is then necessary in order to make employers aware. In line with this, certain organizations will be more sensitive to social policies than others. Employers who are more dependent on municipalities or who are more publicly visible are more likely to employ refugees, when there are supportive social policies.

Policies that stimulate the employment of refugees thus influence the behaviour of employers in two ways. It can change the cost-benefit relation and it creates normative pressure. *It is expected that the way social policies aimed at stimulating the employment of refugees, influences the behaviour of employers, varying between municipalities and organizations.*

2.3.4. Interaction effects

Organizations are considered as active actors that differ with respect to how they respond to institutional and economic pressures (Oliver, 1991). Employers do not comply in a passive way, but respond strategically to these pressures when employing refugees. Prior research within the domain of work-family issues, found that organizations differ in the way they respond to their institutional environment and these differences are linked to organizational characteristics (Den Dulk et al., 2013; Goodstein, 1994; Ingram & Simons, 1995). Organizations may fully conform to institutional pressures, make a compromise in which they partly comply, make symbolic gestures, reject or even

manipulate with institutional demands (Oliver, 1991). Several researchers have already explored interaction effects between institutional characteristics and organizational characteristics within work-family involvement (Goodstein, 1994; Ingram & Simons, 1995 & Den Dulk et al., 2013). Den Dulk et al. (2013) assumed that institutional pressures and economic factors have a different impact across types of organizations and found that public organizations and large organizations were more sensitive to their broader context. Drawing on their work, this study assumes that institutional characteristics affect organizational characteristics, within the domain of employers' behaviour when employing refugees.

Organizations will weigh social policy support, as provided by municipalities, since it is assumed that employers act rational when employing refugees. Governmental interventions can change the cost-benefit relation in a way that employing a refugee becomes beneficial. The more social policies in a municipalities, the more employers employ a refugee. Some types of organizations will be more willing to employ a refugee, when there are social policies. Organizations that have a good economic position, have vacancies that are difficult to fulfil, large organizations, public organizations, organizations that have diversity management practices and organizations with a high degree of corporate social responsibility will be more sensitive to social policy support, as it is an additional economic driver. Social policy support then positively influences the relation between organizations and the willingness to employ a refugee. *This study therefore suggests that the impact of organizational characteristics on the willingness to employ a refugee is positively moderated by social policy support, such as financial compensation and a contact person.*

Besides assuming that employers are rational actors, this study also takes the institutional environment into account. As a result, the practices of other organizations tend to influence organizations that are more sensitive to institutional pressure. Organizations can compare themselves to the standards of the organizational field and might imitate each other (Yang & Konrad, 2011). Moreover, when organizations are interconnected within a climate in which there is public awareness for the employment of refugees, they might feel normative pressure to follow (Ingram & Simons, 1995). Thus, some types of organizations will be more likely to employ a refugee, when employers know other organizations that have employed a refugee. It is expected that for organizations that have a good economic position, have vacancies that are difficult to fulfil, large organizations, public organizations, organizations that have diversity management practices and organizations with a high degree of corporate social responsibility, the practices of other organizations can stimulate the decision to employ refugees. On the contrary, when these types of organizations do not know other organizations that have employed a refugee, they will not feel pressure to employ a refugee themselves. The practices of other organizations thus influences the relation between types of organizations and the willingness to employ a refugee. *This study therefore suggests that the impact of organizational characteristics on the willingness to employ a refugee is positively moderated by the practices of other organizations.*

2.4. Hypotheses

Based on the literature, the following hypotheses are formulated.

1. Hypotheses regarding refugee characteristics

- 1a). Employers are more likely to employ refugees who have obtained relevant education
- 1b). Employers are more likely to employ refugees who have relevant prior work experience
- 1c). Employers are more likely to employ refugees, who have knowledge of the Dutch language

2. Hypotheses regarding organizational characteristics

- 2a). Employers will be more likely to employ refugees, when they have a good economic position

- 2b). Employers will be more likely to employ refugees, when they have vacancies that are difficult to fulfil
- 2c). Large organizations will be more likely to employ refugees than small organizations
- 2d). Public sectors organizations will be more likely to employ refugees than private sector organizations.
- 2e). Employers who have diversity management policies, will be more likely to employ refugees
- 2f). Employers who have a high degree of corporate social responsibility, will be more likely to employ refugees

3. Hypotheses regarding institutional characteristics

- 3a). Employers who know other employers who have employed refugees, are more likely to employ refugees
- 3b). The more social policy support of a municipality regarding the employment of refugees, the more employers employ refugees

4. Interaction between organizational characteristics and institutional characteristics

- 4a). The impact of economic position, level of difficulty fulfilling vacancies, size, public sector organizations, diversity management practices and corporate social responsibility will be greater when employers know other employers who have employed refugees
- 4b). The impact of economic position, level of difficulty fulfilling vacancies, size, public sector organizations, diversity management practices and corporate social responsibility will be greater when there is social policy support of municipalities

2.5. Conceptual model

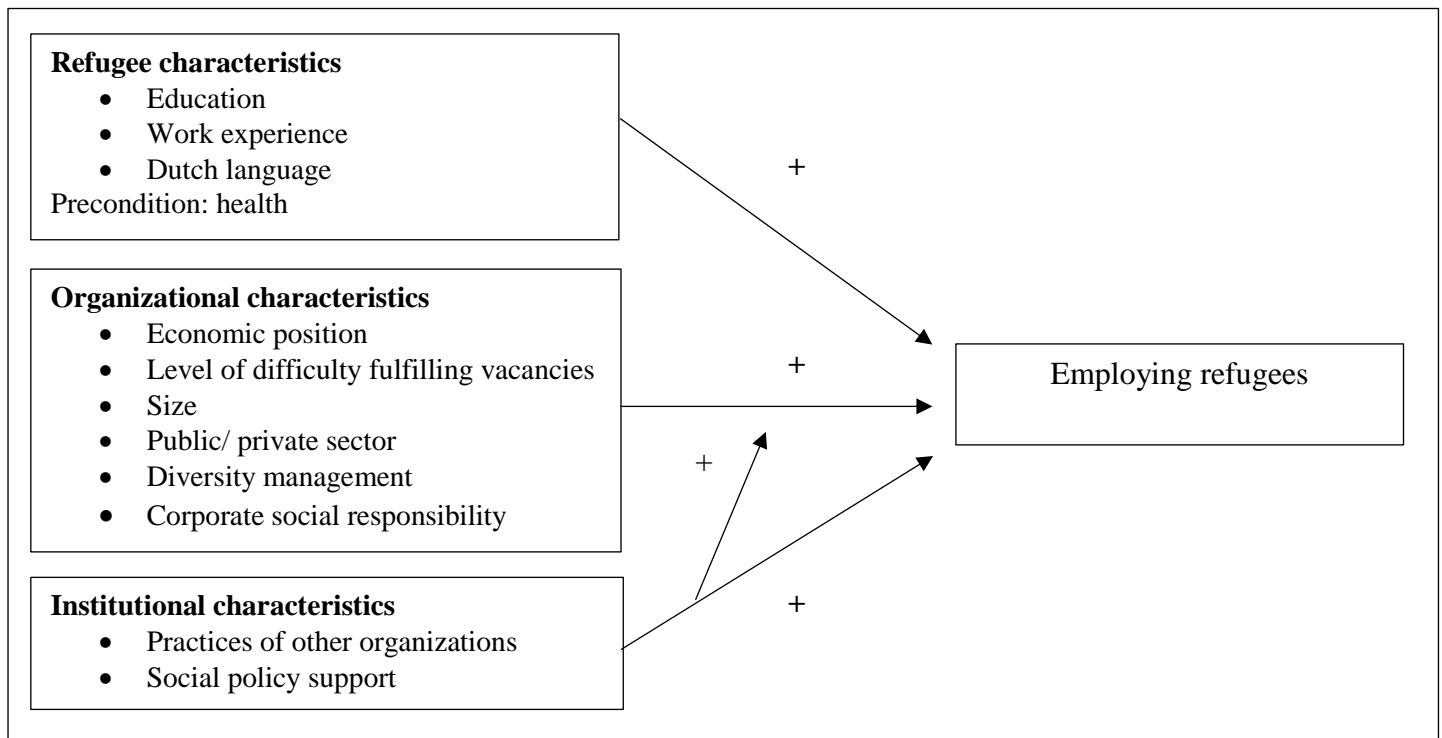


Figure 2.1. factors that influence the decision to employ refugees

2.6. Operationalization

Table 2.2 provides an overview of the operationalization of the theoretical concepts into measurable factors. In the first column, theoretical concepts are given and in the second column, concepts are operationalized into one or more dimensions. The dimensions are further specified into indicators, in other words signs of the presence or absence of that dimension. Column four finally shows how the concepts are measured.

Concept	Dimension	Indicators	Measures
Employing refugees	A. Employing refugees	A.1. Employing refugees	A.1.1. Have employed refugees A.1.2. Have not employed refugees
Refugee characteristics	B. Education	B.1. Education that is relevant to the job B.2. Education obtained in host country or in origin country	B.1.1. Education that is relevant to the job B1.2. Education that is not relevant to the job B2.1. Education obtained in the Netherlands B2.2. Education obtained outside the Netherlands
	C. Work experience	C.1. Job specific skills C.2. Work experience obtained in host country or in origin country	C.1.1. Has job specific skills C.1.2. Has no job specific skills C.2.1. Work experience obtained in the Netherlands C.2.2. Work experience obtained outside the Netherlands
	D. Dutch language skills	D.1. Knowing the Dutch language D.2. Knowing Dutch technical language	D.1.1. Knowledge of the Dutch language D.1.2. Not much knowledge of the Dutch language D.2.1. Knowledge of Dutch technical language D.2.2. Not much knowledge of Dutch technical language
	E. Health	E.1. Health situation	E.1.1. Healthy E.1.2. Unhealthy
Organizational characteristics	F. Economic position	F.1. Financial position F.2. Resources to employ refugees	F.1.1. Healthy financial position F.1.2. Unhealthy financial position F.2.1. Available time F.2.2. Available money
	G. Level of difficulty fulfilling vacancies	G.1. Level of difficulty fulfilling vacancies	G.1.1. Vacancy that is hard to fulfil G.1.2. Vacancy that is easy to fulfil
	H. Size	H.1. Size of organizations	H.1.1. 0- 9 employees (small) H.1.2 10- 100 employees (medium) H.2.1. 100 and more (large)
	I. Public/ private sector	I.1. Public/ private sector	I.1.1. Public sector organizations I.1.2. Private sector organizations

	J. Diversity management	J.1. Diversity management policy J.2. Diversity in the workplace	J.1.1. Has diversity management policies J.1.2. Has not diversity management policies J.2.1. % non-western employees
	K. Corporate social responsibility	K.1. Corporate social responsibility	K.1.1. High degree of corporate social responsibility K.1.2. Low degree of corporate social responsibility
Institutional context	L. Behaviour of other employees	L.1. Practices of other organizations L.2. Paying attention to practices of other organizations L.3. Belonging to a network of similar organizations	L.1.1. Many employees in same sector have employed refugees L.1.2. Few employers in same sector have employed refugees L.2.1. Organization pays attention to practices of other organizations L.2.2. Organization does not pay attention to other organizations L.3.1. Part of a network L.3.2. Not part of a network
	M. Social policy support	M.1. Presence of social policy within municipality M.2. Being informed	M.1.1. Presence of financial social policy in municipality M.1.2. Presence of other support M.2.1. Having personal contact with municipality M.2.2. Clear available information

Table 2.2 Operationalization

3. Research design

The empirical part of this study consists of two parts. In the first part, interviews are used to explore and obtain an understanding of employers considerations when employing a refugee, while in the second part, a quantitative study is performed to test hypotheses. Results in this study are thus based on a mixed-method study.

In this chapter, the research design is discussed. This chapter first elaborates on the mixed-method design, and secondly the design of the qualitative study as well as the quantitative study is presented. This chapter ends with a discussion of the reliability and validity of this research.

3.1. Mixed-method design

In recent years, the relevance of using a mixed-method design has been emphasized among more researchers (Blatter & Haverland, 2014). Mixed-method is defined as a procedure to collect, analyse and integrate both qualitative and quantitative data (Creswell et al., 2003). This mixed-method study consists of two phases: a qualitative study followed by a quantitative study. Since there is little understanding in the perspective of the employer when employing refugees, an explorative qualitative study is useful to get a deeper understanding why an employer would employ a refugee. This in-depth investigation is helpful for the selection of relevant conditions to test within the vignette study.

Interviews are then combined with a statistical analysis of a large sample of employers. The large N study is performed to give an estimation of the strength of the relationships between variables. In this way, the mixed-method study combines the best of both worlds (Lieberman, 2005).

In the literature, three main reasons for a mixed-method design are distinguished. Firstly, when using a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods, it gives complementary information and allows for a more robust analysis, by identifying additional relevant variables and conditions. It takes advantages of the strengths of each method (Creswell et al., 2003). Secondly, when used in combination, the conceptualization and measurement of the study is improved. The qualitative study can trace causal mechanisms, while the quantitative study can estimate the strength of the relationships of multiple independent variables. There is more insight into the adequacy of indicators, hence the internal validity can be increased (Lieberman, 2005). A final advantage is the decrease in the chance of finding spurious relationships. Overall, there is more confidence in the findings of a study that uses a mixed-method design (Blatter & Haverland, 2014).

3.2. Qualitative study

3.2.1. Introduction

In the first part, interviews are performed to find motivations and challenges of employers when employing refugees. This is partly explored by the literature study, but semi-structured interviews give a deeper understanding into the perspective of employers. In order to get a broader understanding of this perspective, it is relevant to include not only employers, but also other relevant actors in the process of employing refugees. In this way, it is possible to report on different perspectives.

3.2.2. Sample

In this study, ten interviews and one focus group are held with job coaches, several employers who have employed refugees, an advisor of VluchtelingenWerk and the project leader of an association of organizations in the transport sector who have employed refugees. It is relevant to interview job coaches, because they match refugees to employers and therefore have knowledge of the conditions for employing refugees. Next, including employers who have employed refugees, is relevant to get more insight into their motivations and the challenges they came across. The employers are identified as best practises, since these organizations have included one or several refugees in their workforce.

The interviews with employers are held with people who have the authority to make the decision to approve or reject new employees (HR manager, general director, deputy director, manager and coordinator traineeships). The sample covers two large organizations, four medium-sized organizations and one small organization. Size is measured, using the definition of CBS. Small organizations have less than 10 employees, medium size organizations have 10 till 100 employees and 100 or more employees are defined as large organizations (CBS, 2007). Six employers are private sector organizations and one employer is a public organization.

Interviewing the national advisor of VluchtelingenWerk gives insight into the perspective of an organization which supports the interests of refugees, but works closely with municipalities and employers. Finally, interviewing the project leader of a network of organizations within the transport sector is relevant, since this network cooperates with municipalities, educational institutions and organizations in order to link refugees to organizations.

Table 3.1 summarizes the respondents details.

3.2.3. Sample strategy and analysis

The selection of cases is based on a non-probability sample in which the snowball sampling strategy and convenience sampling strategy are used. Some employers are found, by searching on the internet for employers who have employed refugees. Concepts as '*organizations that have employed refugees*' and '*employers that have employed refugees*' are used to search for relevant organizations. Other respondents are found, by using professional contacts of the researcher. A disadvantage of a convenient sample is the small generalizability of results. Yet, the sample comprises a diversity of actors who are involved in the process of employing refugees, and are also active in different industries. This gives a broad perspective of conditions for employing refugees and fits within the explorative character of the first part of this study. The semi-structured interviews have been conducted according to a topic list. With permission of the respondents, the interviews were recorded and transcribed. Transcripts were coded and analysed using NVivo, based on Krippendorff's (2004) method of content analysis. Drawn from theory, different concepts are identified that are subsequently operationalized into specific codes. Concepts, ideas or relations that came across during the analysis are added to these codes, because of back-and-forth coding (Babbie, 2013). Appendix A gives an overview of the coding tree, as used in the analysis. With a view to maintaining ethical standards, anonymity of the respondents is ensured.

Actor	Position respondent	Size	Public/ private organization	Sector	Interview or focus group
Employer	HRM manager	Medium	Private sector	Electrical and mechanical engineering	Interview
Employer	General director	Small	Private sector	Plumbing sector	Interview
Employer	Coordinator traineeships	Large	Public sector	Public Administration	Interview
Employer	Deputy director	Medium	Private sector	Catering sector	Interview
Employer	Deputy director	Large	Private sector	Transport sector	Interview
Employer	Manager	Medium	Private sector	Electrical and mechanical engineering	Focus group
Employer	General director	Medium	Private sector	Construction sector	Focus group
Association	Project leader	-	Private sector	Transport sector	Interview
Job coach	Coordinator	-	Public and private sector	-	Interview + focus group
Job coach	Self-employed	-	Public and private sector	-	Interview
Job coach	Self-employed	-	Public and private sector	-	Interview
VluchtelingenWerk	National advisor	-	-	-	Interview
Total: 12 respondents					

Table 3.1. Overview of respondents qualitative study

3.3. Quantitative study

3.3.1. Introduction

The second part of this study consists of a vignette study in which five conditions are tested. These conditions are selected, based on the theoretical model and insights of interviews with employers who already have employed a refugee, job coaches, an advisor of VluchtelingenWerk and the project leader of an association of organizations who links refugees to employers.

Vignette studies use short descriptions of situations (vignettes) in order to gain insight into judgments about several scenarios (Atzmüller & Steiner, 2010). A vignette study consists of two parts: (1) the vignette experiment and (2) a survey in which additional respondent-specific characteristics are measured. The vignette study is aimed at identifying the relevance of the vignette conditions that influence respondents' judgements on the hypothetical and contextualized vignette setting (Atzmüller & Steiner, 2010).

An advantage of a vignette study is that it makes it possible to investigate the employer's attitude towards hiring a refugee in a realistic scenario presented to respondents. The possibility of having more control over the values and variances of the independent variables is marked as another advantage (Den Dulk, de Ruijter, 2008). Respondents are asked to consider several hypothetical situations in which fictional situations are described about the entering of refugees in their organization. Each respondent judges a randomly assigned subset of vignettes, which is a subset of a larger vignette population. In this study, hypothetical refugees were described by individual characteristics (language and education obtained in the country of origin) and the hiring decision was placed in a specific context of applying to a job that is easy or hard to fulfil. Other conditions relate to

the support of municipalities in terms of a contact person and financial compensation. Figure 3.1 displays one of the vignettes.

Imagine, a motivated refugee applies to a job within your organization. The refugee can legally work, since a permit has been arranged by the municipality. The following features apply:									
Knowing Dutch language:					Good/ Poor				
Followed relevant education in host country:					Yes/ No				
Applies to:					Job that is easy to fulfil/ Job that is hard to fulfil				
Wage cost subsidy from municipality:					Yes/ No				
Support in the form of contact person:					Yes/ No				
What is the likelihood that you would be willing to employ this refugee?									
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Not employing									Employing

Figure 3.1. An example vignette

3.3.2. Sample

The vignette study targeting a sample of Dutch employers. The study is pre-tested by asking two researchers of Verwey-Jonker Institution to test the pilot. Based on their feedback, the survey has been improved and sent via an anonymous internet link to respondents.

Data is collected by asking HRM managers or the ones who are in the position to decide about the employment of new personnel, to fill in this online survey. Employers are selected, based on a snowball sampling, for instance by spreading the survey via LinkedIn and the personal network of the researcher. The snowball strategy has proved to be valuable for groups which are difficult to reach, such as HRM managers (Karpinska et al., 2010).

The questionnaire had a response of n=52, but only respondents who are involved in the process of employing new personnel are taken into account. This resulted in a sample size of n=51.

Each respondent judges seven unique vignettes. The total number of observations is 335.

The position composition of the group was 28 per cent director/ owner, 35 per cent HRM manager and 37 per cent supervisor/ manager. The sample consists of both organizations within the public sector as in the private sector: 47 per cent of the respondents is working in the public sector. Almost 50 per cent of the employers constitutes a large organization. Different sectors are presented in this sample: 25 per cent of the respondents work in the commercial sector, 18 per cent within public administration and 14 per cent covers the construction sector. 74 per cent of the employers in this sample has not employed a refugee. Table 3.2 provides a summary of characteristics of respondents and the organizations they work in.

		N	Valid %
Position		51	
	Executive board member/ owner		28
	HRM manager		35
	Manager/ supervisor		37
Public/ private organization		51	
	Public		47
	Private		53
Sector		51	
	Industry		2
	Construction		14
	Trade		12
	Catering		4
	Transport and communication		8
	Financial		4
	Commercial		25
	Public administration		18
	Education		6
	Health		8
Size		51	
	Small (0-9)		20
	Medium- sized (10-99)		31
	Large (100 and more)		49
Refugee included in workforce		46	
	Yes		26
	No		74

Table 3.2. Characteristics respondents and the organization they work in.

3.3.3. Measures

The dependent variable in this study is the likelihood of employing a refugee. This is measured on a scale from 1 (not likely to employ) to 10 (likely to employ).

The independent variables, used in the construction of the vignettes were: language level (knowing the Dutch language/ not knowing the Dutch language); education (followed relevant education in country of origin for the job/ did not follow relevant education in country of origin for the job); applies to vacancy (hard to fulfil/ easy to fulfil); contact person provided by the municipality (contact person for support/ no contact person for support) and financial support in the form of wage cost subsidy (financial support/ no financial support). All variables are transformed into dummy variables. The vignette factors resulted in 32 unique vignettes. Each respondent is presented with seven at random selected unique vignettes and is asked to decide about the employment, based on the various hypothetical situations. Table 3.3 gives an overview of the conditions as used in this vignette study.

Furthermore, this study included several other variables. The position of participants: (1) Executive board member/ owner (2) Manager HRM/ HRM employee (3) Manger, supervisor. The organizational context is also taken into account (private sector (0), public sector (1)). Further, sectors are distinguished by (1) Agriculture and fishing (2) Industry, (3) Construction sector, (4) Trade, (5) Catering, (6) Transport and communication, (7) Financial sector, (8) Commercial, (9) public administration, (10) Education, (11) Health sector, (12) Culture, sport and others. Next, the size of the

organization is measured by 1-9 employees, 10-49 employees, 50-99 employees, 100-249 employees and 250 and more employees. In order to follow the definition of CBS, these answer categories are transformed into small organizations (0-9 employees), medium-sized organizations (10-99 employees) and large organizations (100 or more employees). Since this variable contained three categories, it is transformed into two dummy variables, with large organizations as reference group.

Whether someone is involved in the process of employing new employees is measured as (1) never, (2) sometimes, (3) often, (4) always. Only respondents who are sometimes, often and always involved are taken into account in this study.

It is also measured whether an organization already employed a refugee (0) no, (1) yes. Furthermore, to what extent an organization has a culture of diversity is measured using three survey questions, following Pitts (2009): (1) "Supervisors/team leaders in my work unit are committed to a workforce representative of all segments of society"; (2) "Policies and programs promote diversity in the workplace"; and (3) "Managers/ supervisors/team leaders work well with employees of different backgrounds". Respondents answered each statement with a value from 1 (=disagree) to 5 (agree).

However, data analyses indicate this scale was not strongly reliable: Cronbach's alpha for these items is .502. Cronbach's alpha is a function of the number of items in the analysis, and since diversity management is only measured with three items, Cronbach's alpha is probably lower. Yet, a factor analysis showed that the first two statements measure one concept and the third statement measures another concept. Therefore, it is decided to only include the first two statements and to exclude statement 3 to measure diversity management practices. This results in a Cronbach's alpha of .713.

Social corporate responsibility is measured, following Brammer et al., 2007 and using a single item construct of 'The company is a socially responsible member of the community'. Managers are asked to respond on a five-point Likert scale (1= disagree to 5=agree) to the statement.

The capacity of the organization is measured as 'My organization has the capacity on the work to employ a refugee' on a 5-point Likert-scale. The degree organizations pay attention to other organizations that have employed a refugee is measured by asking 'I know other organizations within my sector that have employed a refugee' on a 5-point Likert scale.

Finally, the economic position of organizations is measured by following the European Company Survey (2008) 'How would you rate the economic situation of this establishment' on a scale from 1 to 5 ((1) very bad, (2) bad), (3) not good, not bad, (4) good, (5) very good).

The interaction effects of institutional characteristics on organizational characteristics is measured by multiplying the predictors with the variable groups. The interaction effects of institutional characteristics on organizational characteristics are based on 18 interaction effects.

Vignette factor	Vignette levels
Language	0. Not knowing the Dutch language 1. Knowing the Dutch language
Education	0. Did not follow relevant education in country of origin 1. Followed relevant education in country of origin
Applies to vacancy	0. Easy to fulfil 1. Hard to fulfil
Financial support municipality	0. No subsidy in the form of wage cost subsidy 1. Subsidy in the form of wage cost subsidy
Support municipality	0. No contact person for support 1. Contact person for support

Table 3.3 Vignette factors. The factorial product of the vignette levels (2x2x2x2x2) results in 32 unique vignettes

3.3.4. Analysis

Respondents in this study have judged multiple vignettes, therefore data has a hierarchical structure. In other words, judgements made by respondents are clustered within respondents (Snijders, 2004). Analysing data by using regression analyses is then not possible, because of the hierarchical structure. In order to solve this problem, a multilevel regression analysis has been used. This study produces a dataset with two levels: vignettes as level 1 and organizations as level 2. Level 1 has 322 vignettes as level of analysis and level 2 contains 51 units of analysis. Following the statistical literature, this study meets the criteria of multilevel analyses (30/30 rule) (Snijders, 2004). The statistical programme SPSS is used to perform the multilevel analysis and the models are built by following Field (2013).

3.4. Reliability and validity

3.4.1. Reliability

The reliability of the research refers to the stability and consistency of results (Berg, 2009). In this study, the reliability is optimized in four different ways.

Firstly, in the qualitative part, interviews are held with multiple, relevant actors in the process of employing refugees, which gives a comprehensive view about conditions for employing refugees. The reliability of this study is further increased, by using the strategy of triangulation of methods. Data is collected by different sources, because of the combination of a qualitative study with a quantitative study. The findings are therefore complemented and allow for a close examination of employers' behaviour (Lieberman, 2005).

Thirdly, consistency of results is ensured by a systematic operationalization of theoretical concepts. In this way, other researchers can replicate this study.

Finally, the process of conducting this research and its results is reflected with the supervisor of the Erasmus University and several researchers of the research institute, Verwey-Jonker Institute. Because multiple experienced researchers could reflect on this study, the reliability is increased. However, the reliability is decreased, because interviews are held, transcribed, coded and analysed by only one researcher. In order to minimize this problem, data has systematically been coded and analysed by using computer software. Secondly, since interviews have been conducted in Dutch, quotes of respondents had to be translated into English. Hence, interviews can be subject of potential linguistic biases, which decreases the reliability of this study.

3.4.2. Validity

Validity consists of internal validity and external validity. The internal validity refers to the correctness of the measurement (Berg, 2009; DeVellis, 2017). The aim of this study is to explain the variation between employers regarding employing or not employing refugees. In order to strive for correctness, this study has interviewed multiple, relevant actors who are involved in the process of employing refugees, such as job coaches, several employers who have employed refugees, the advisor of VluchtelingenWerk and a coordinator of an association of organizations who have employed refugees. Furthermore, when used in combination, quantitative and qualitative data complement each other and therefore the conceptualization and measurement of the study is improved. There is more insight into the adequacy of relations between variables, because the vignette study estimates the strength of the relationships between variables, while interviews give a deeper understanding (Lieberman, 2005).

However, due to the scope of the organization and the accessibility, it was not always possible to interview a person in the same position in each organization. In most organizations, the general director or deputy director was interviewed, while in some organizations the interview was held with the HRM manager. The online survey has also been filled in by respondents in different positions, such as the general director, HRM manager or manager. Taking people from a different position into account has the limitation that respondents vary in the way they have the authority to employ refugees and therefore have different knowledge. This limitation decreases the internal validity.

Finally, results are based on a vignette study and investigating employers' attitude in a more realistic scenario is named as one of the strengths of a vignette study. When the vignettes can adequately capture the reality of the context that the vignette presents, the internal validity is increased.

External validity relates to the generalizability of research results (DeVellis, 2017). Generalizing a study to the wider context is only possible when the sample is a representation of the general population to which the research would apply (Berg, 2009). This study is focused on Dutch employers from different sectors, spread across the Netherlands. The sample for both the qualitative and the quantitative study is based on a non-probability sampling, in which actors are interviewed and are asked to fill in the survey who vary in position and are spread across the country. In some parts of the Netherlands, more actors are involved than in other parts of the Netherlands. As a consequence, the sample is not representative to the whole population and it limits the possibilities of generalization. However, the aim of this study is to explore employers' behaviour towards employing a refugee and therefore a convenient sample is a sufficient way to gain insight into the phenomenon instead of generalize it to the broader population. Nevertheless, the external validity is increased in two ways. Firstly, by interviewing respondents from different organizations, in different sectors, both public as private and who deal with different social policies, since they are located in different municipalities. This gives a broad view about conditions for employing refugees. Secondly, arguments made in this study are strengthened by performing a quantitative study with a larger N. In this way, insights of the qualitative study which includes a small sample size are checked, supplemented and put into a wider perspective.

4. Results qualitative study

As discussed in the previous chapter, results in this study are based on one focus group and ten semi-structured interviews with employers who have employed a refugee, job coaches, a project leader of an association and a national advisor of VluchtelingenWerk. Even though this study is only based on seven employers, some general patterns became visible in the analysis. Therefore, these interviews give insight in the process of employing refugees from different perspectives and into conditions that explain why some employers have employed refugees while others did not. In this chapter, results are presented. The first section gives a description of the seven employers, and section 2 discusses motivations to employ a refugee. Furthermore, section 3 elaborates on social policies and the final section analyzes selection criteria, as used by the employers.

4.1. Descriptions employers

Case description	Initiator	Initial motivation	Social policy support
- Small organization (circ. 4 employees) - Private sector - Plumbing sector - Interviewed: General director - Employed: 1 refugee	Self-employed job coach	Started with a trial period to support the refugee, employed when there was a vacancy	- Selection by municipality - Insurance - Trial period of several weeks
- Medium-sized (circ. 70 employees) - Private organization - Electrical and mechanical engineering - Interviewed: HRM manager - Employed: 12 refugees	The general director	To fulfil vacancies	- Selection by municipality - Trial period of 4 months
- Medium-sized - Private sector - Catering industry - Interviewed: Deputy director - Employed: 2 refugees	The general director	To provide support as employer to refugees	- Work permit
- Large organization - Private sector - Transport sector - Interviewed: deputy director - Employed: 1 refugee	Self-employed job coach	To fulfil vacancies	- Selection by municipality - Trial period of 6 months
- Large organization - Private sector - Public administration - Interviewed: Coordinator traineeships - Offering 8 refugees a trainee programme	Management organization	To provide support as employer to refugees	- Selection by municipality
- Medium-sized - Private sector - Construction sector	General director with civil society organization	To provide support to refugees and to fulfil vacancies	- Selection by organization - Trial period of 1/2 months

- Interviewed: General director			
- Employed: 3/4 refugees			
- Medium-sized - Private sector - Electrical and mechanical engineering	General director with civil society organization	To meet SROI criteria	- Selection by organization - Trial period of 2/3 months
- Interviewed: Manager			
- Employed: 2 refugees, 1 in its trial period			

Table 4.1. Descriptions employers who have employed a refugee

Table 4.1 gives an overview of the interviewed employers. Since these employers have employed a refugee, they can be seen as good practices. These employers however vary with respect to the initial motivation and initiator about the decision to employ a refugee. One small employer, for instance, was approached by a self-employed job coach to explore his interests on the employment of a refugee who has been a plumber in his country of origin. This employer tells:

“He won’t be on the run for nothing, thus I am not negative towards it. I had something like, lets meet first, because it has to fit. I cannot say yes in advance, I don’t do that to anyone, no matter where you come from.”(General director, plumbing sector, small, private sector)

The self-employed job coach arranged a meeting in which the employer could get to know the refugee better. After this meeting, the employer decided to start with a trial period, in which the refugee can get some experience of working in Dutch organizations. In this way, it is in an accessible way possible for the employer to determine whether the refugee fits within the organization.

Another employer, who has also been contacted by a self-employed job coach, used a trial period of two months to find out whether it was possible to employ a refugee. However, compared to the small employer in the plumbing sector, this large organization faced labour market shortages, which formed a trigger for the organization to start employing refugees. Eventually, one refugee is employed and this organization will start with a trial period twice a year with several refugees to select good candidates.

Interviews showed that the initiative to employ a refugee can also be taken by the organization, instead of the municipality or a self-employed job coach. In one organization, the general director decided to inform about the employability of refugees, since it had faced a challenge of shortage of skilled workers. The HRM manager states:

“It is very difficult to find suitable technicians. It already starts at VMBO schools, actually at primary education since parents want their children to go to VWO. We try to make people enthusiastic about our profession on all sides. Then, my director read something in the newspaper about refugees, that they were waiting on the couch until they could do something.” (HR manager, Electrical and mechanical engineering, medium-sized, private sector)

The organization, however, experienced difficulties in finding the right person within municipalities. The HRM manager tried to contact several municipalities, VluchtelingenWerk and asylum centres, but finding the right person who could arrange the employment of refugees took him over a month. Eventually, the municipality sent several refugees to this organization for a trial period of four months while maintaining benefits. Twelve refugees have been employed since and this organization is still interested in employing more refugees.

Knowing the right person who has experience with the employment of refugees, has also been mentioned as an important condition by another organization. Yet, the general director was part of a network that included people who could help, as the deputy general states:

“Because of the network of our director, with people who always ask and do something, this could have happened. Otherwise, it would not have happened.” (Deputy director, catering industry, medium-sized, private sector).

Employing a refugee has also been initiated by the general director, but contrary to the medium-sized organization in the electrical and mechanical engineering sector, this organization aimed at helping refugees.

“It is actually because of our director, who has been director for 15 years and has supported many initiatives to lift this region to a higher level. Then the refugee crisis started, also here, and we looked at what we could do, what was possible, but really hands on, so that we were not standing in the way.” (Deputy director, catering industry, medium-sized, private sector).

While this organization already planned to provide help to refugees, the general director of this organization got in touch with a refugee and embraced him, as the deputy director states:

“By coincidence, our director came in contact with a refugee through his swimming club, a Syrian boy and he actually embraced him a little and helped him with instances and paperwork and finally gave him a job as assistant cook.” (Deputy director, catering industry, medium-sized, private sector)

In line with this, one public organization has organized traineeships for refugees, due to an initiative by representatives to provide help to people with a distance to the labour market, including the group of refugees. The organization has a high degree of social responsibility and strives to be an example for other organizations. The coordinator of the traineeships tells:

“There was a letter that indicated what we could do with refugees, without having a task in it, but we want to do something, also from an internal drive. In this letter was also stated that we wanted to do something as employer for refugees. The representatives embraced the idea and that is how the idea arose of doing something as employer for refugees.” (Coordinator traineeships, large, public sector)

Eight refugees are selected for this trainee programme and will start with an internship of one year in which they will be trained on their Dutch language skills and will get the opportunity to work on different places within the organization. After this year, they will start with the trainee programme of two and a half year.

Two other employers in this sample have close contact with a civil society organization, that provides assistance programmes for refugees. One medium-sized employer in the construction sector started four years ago with the employment of refugees, from the desire to provide support to refugees. The general director of the organization got to know a refugee and since then, this organization has employed multiple refugees. Struggling to find skilled individuals now results in a willingness to employ more refugees.

The other organization is characterised by its strategy to employ people with a distance to the labour market, because of requirements of social return. When delivering to the public sector, it is required to have at least 5 per cent of the work performed by people with a distance to the labour market to

increase social return. Social Return on investment (SROI) is an example of governmental regulation to stimulate the employment of people with a distance to the labour market. This organization within the electrical and mechanical engineering can be seen as social enterprise that created jobs for people with a distance to the labour market. Refugees are also part of the group of people with a distance to the labour market and this organization has therefore started to employ refugees. Two refugees have been employed and one employee is doing an internship.

4.2. Economic reasons and social reasons

What motivates employers when they are inclined to employ a worker from the group of refugees? Initial motivations are subdivided into two categories: employers who employ a refugee, because of social reasons and employers who employ a refugee, based on economic reasons.

Empirical data showed that four out of seven employers employed refugees because of a high degree of social commitment towards society. One catering organization mentioned the willingness to contribute to the refugee crisis. The organization within the public sector wanted to help refugees as an employer and in that way behaving in a socially responsible way. Another motivation of this public organization was to get a more diversified workforce. Although the public organization does not have formal diversity practices, diversity in the workplace is promoted, for instance by employing refugees. The public organization is also willing to be an example for other organizations, doing their part to provide help for refugees, as the employer states:

“We are a political organization, a social organization and I think we should fulfil a role in this. At least as social organization, we have a role in setting a good example. If we proclaim that other employers should employ people who are new in the Netherlands, why don't we do it ourselves? I think that it should become more and more normal in the labour market and then you start with yourself.” (Coordinator traineeships, large, public sector)

The third organization that has a social motivation, employed refugees, to meet SROI criteria. When employing people with a distance to the labour market, including the group of refugees, this organization meets SROI criteria and can deliver to the public sector.

Lastly, an organization that employed a refugee for social reasons started four years ago with the employment of refugees, because of a willingness to provide sustainable support to refugees. Yet, due to facing vacancies that are hard to fulfil, the organization in the construction sector now also employs refugees for economic reasons. In general, the construction sector deals with a labour market shortage that results in an increased interest of employers to employ refugees. The general director tells about this issue:

“What we notice is that when we started four years ago, it was difficult to find work for people. Then we were invited for speed dating days [provided by municipality to link refugees to employers, red.]. But now, everyone calls for people and you are no longer invited.” (General director, construction sector, medium-sized, private sector)

Three other organizations in this sample employed a refugee, because of economic reasons. The level of facing difficulty when fulfilling vacancies turned out to be the main motivation to start looking at this group of workers. For instance, the organization in the transport sector is struggling to find skilled employees. The deputy director states that employing refugees is an investment, but since this organization has many vacancies that are hard to fulfil, it is willing to invest. The project leader of a network of transport organizations, also deals with this issue, by stating:

“Of course, we look at unemployed Dutch people, but you notice that they dry up very quickly. Everybody that was in way employable, is already activated. That gives opportunities for refugees. A few years ago, they called, they take our jobs, now there is enough. Especially in the technical sector.”

Within this network of transport organizations, the project leader experiences that many employers are interested in employing refugees and it is nowadays easier to match refugees to employers. Another organization within the electrical and mechanical engineering sector struggled to find the skilled individuals it needs and therefore hired refugees. Besides, one small plumbing organization employed a refugee, because of economic reasons as the need of a new employee. But since the general director of this organization indicated he was not willing to expand, he gave less priority to employ more refugees.

Comparing organizations that employed refugees for economic reasons with organizations with social affinities shows that the latter group invests either more in language training and coaching or take more time to find out interests of the candidates to fit them within the organization. These organizations invest, compared to other organizations, more in the employment of refugees. They further emphasize the importance of treating refugees in the same way as other employees. Refugees need some extra guidance, but should not be treated as exceptions on the work floor. A job coach also advised employers to consider the employment of a refugee from an economic perspective, as he states:

“Employers say, I have a social obligation towards society, therefore I am going to hire someone. Then I say, don’t do that. See it from an economic perspective. Do you need someone, yes, employ them. Don’t you need people, do not employ them and consider how you can help and support them in another way. Make them relevant. Make sure they have added value.” (Job coach 3)

This job coach tries to make refugees valuable within the organization and in this way shows employers the benefits of hiring a refugee, as he states:

“It is very difficult, but when it succeeds, it is great. Then you have someone who is loyal, who is grateful, who brings in knowledge and experience and often at a lower price than you pay for Dutch standards. Where the Dutch talents think that they can actually get promotion after nine months or want to do something else, these people are happy that they are comfortable. It is much more stable.” (Job coach 3)

To conclude, in this sample, organizations within the construction, transport and electrical and mechanical engineering industry face difficulties with fulfilling vacancies. Investing in the employment of refugees is then attractive, since benefits exceed additional costs. Organizations within the catering industry and public administration mention the shortage of labour to a lesser extent. They have employed refugees because of the willingness to be socially responsible and are less inclined to hire refugees as a remedy.

4.3. Social policy support

When employers employ a refugee, they can qualify themselves for social policy support provided by municipalities. But what kind of support do employers prefer and is there a difference between employers? Three patterns emerged in how employers experience the support of municipalities. The first is the possibility of making use of a trial period and secondly the need of feeling the support of a

contact person. The third pattern relates to the conflicting goals of municipalities between making good matches and reducing refugees who receive benefits. Interestingly, financial support is not mentioned by employers as supportive. Job coaches could clarify this, by stating that financial support is individually determined by a civil servant, who takes the organization and sometimes the individual refugee into account. Some employers receive some compensation, but financial support is mostly not a factor that has convinced these employers to employ a refugee.

4.3.1. Trial periods

The possibility of providing a trial period, internship or apprenticeship, appeared to be used by employers. While placements are unpaid and without obligations as offering a job afterwards or signing contracts, most employers choose to keep refugees as employees. Refugees are selected based on interests or relevant documents in the employer's sector. Most employers receive several CV's of municipalities and besides focussing on these CV's, employers meet refugees in an interview before deciding to start with a trial period. One employer that makes use of a trial period, before employing a refugee states:

“We need the trial period to see whether there is a connection on the work floor. There already is a connection with us, but the trial period is necessary to see if there is a connection with colleagues, before offering a contract.” (General director, construction sector, medium, private sector)

During the trial period, employers test refugees on their skills, but also on their motivation, being assertive, speaking the Dutch language and on the degree of their learning abilities. In some situations, health problems of refugees became clear during the trial period when the refugee worked in the workplace. One employer states:

“We thought, we had a really good one, but after a few weeks, they indicated I have got pain in my back [...] That becomes clear during work, then they say, I suffer from my back, I cannot do this anymore. It is probably too heavy, and they have to find other work, but that only becomes clear during work.” (HRM manager, installation work, medium, private sector)

Not all employers in this sample make use of trial periods before employing a refugee. One organization in the catering industry employed two refugees without testing them, but this might be explained because the general director had personal contact with these refugees. The public organization started with an internship of one year in which refugees will be trained on their Dutch language skills and get the opportunity to work on different places within the organization. Refugees got paid during this internship. Both employers thus employ refugees without making use of a trial period and interestingly, these employers had social reasons for the employment.

Employers who employ refugees for economic reasons, mostly use a trial period before making a decision. Except for the small plumbing organization, they have continuous contact with municipalities about the selection of relevant refugees and start with a trial period to decide whether or not the refugee can be hired. Employers expect the municipality to select refugees who have a basic level of the Dutch language, are in good health, are motivated and have an interest in the type of work within the organization.

Trial periods vary in length, since some organizations has tested refugees for two months, whereas another trial period lasted six months. This depends on social policies within municipalities and employers' preferences. For instance, one employer experienced a trial period of two months as too short to decide whether or not to employ a refugee. The refugees in this organization, did not speak the

Dutch language very well and had a lack of work experience on the Dutch labour market as the employer states:

“A trial period of two months is far too short, especially when they are pretty rough. For instance, being on time, because they don’t know that. You have to teach them. Coming in one hour late or calling that you cannot come tomorrow, because you don’t have day-care, that does not work with us. These kind of things take you a few weeks before someone understands that.” (Deputy director, transport sector, large, private sector)

This employer now cooperates with a different municipality. In this way, the organization can extend the trial period from two months up to six months and it feels more supported by the municipality. Several job coaches however, indicate the risks of offering long trial periods in terms of exploitation by employers, since refugees work for free within organizations. These job coaches aim to maximize the length of the trial period to three months before deciding whether or not to hire the refugee.

4.3.2. Contact person

When employing a refugee, employers need to be informed by the municipality and need help with the arrangement of the employment and the selection of relevant refugees. Therefore, employers get individually-tailored support in the form of a contact person, who is a self-employed job coach or a job coach from the municipality.

One organization in the catering sector, for instance, had concerns about the arrangement of a work permit, because employers who intent to employ workers from outside the EU for longer than three months must meet a work permit. The employer states:

“It is usually difficult to hire employees from outside the EU and a lot of bureaucracy, you really need to apply for permits and all those kind of things. The municipality has ultimately made an exception that you can hire a refugee easier. That has obviously helped a lot.” (Deputy director, catering industry, medium, private sector)

An employer in the plumbing sector also felt the support of the self-employed job coach for the arrangement of an insurance against the risk of working with non-employed refugees. He further mentioned the support of the self-employed job coach as helpful, because of the clear communication about the possibilities of the employment. Empirical data indicate that the job coach, for instance, provides support during an interview with the employer and the refugee to clarify several documentations and to show interesting qualities of the refugee, when he or she has little knowledge of the Dutch language. However, a large organization in the transport sector faced several difficulties concerning communication with the self-employed job coach. The employer was not informed about barriers in the workplace, such as paying travel costs and refugees who were not being on time. He further experienced much pressure by the self-employed job coach to employ refugees. The deputy director of this organization believes that the process of employing refugees should be easier in order to have minimal concerns as employer. This employer now cooperates with a different municipality in which he makes use of a longer trial period and gets more individually-tailored support. Interviews also showed that the two large organizations in this sample experienced some struggles to communicate with municipalities, since these organizations fall under the district of multiple municipalities. Each municipality has developed different social policies that relate to the extent of the trial period or financial support, therefore large employers need to inform and contact each municipality separately. One large employer explains:

“Apparently, each municipality is doing this in a different way. You have to imagine, we operate nationwide and suppose like to do this everywhere, I have to negotiate again on all cases in that municipality and each municipality has different policies whether we get them [refugees] for two or six months. That will not work for us.” (Deputy director, transport sector, large, private sector)

Almost all employers in this sample make use of a person of contact, but the degree to which they get support vary between municipalities, but also between the organizations. Some organizations needed this support more than others. Job coaches are helpful then, because of the amount of time and attention they put into the matching of refugees to organizations.

4.3.3. Conflicting goals municipalities

A final empirical pattern coming from interviews with employers, job coaches and the advisor of VluchtelingenWerk is the tension that municipalities face while assisting refugees to a job and making sustainable long-term matches. On the one hand, interviews show that the selection of municipalities is highly important, for instance on relevant background or interests of refugees, to make good matches between refugees and employers for the longer term. One employer states:

“The selection is much better than a few years ago. One and a half years ago we had someone who had worked in a perfumery and now had to work with solar panels. He did not like that either. Then we were like, how can we organize it in a better way? Then the cooperation with schools improved. The preselection has become better.” (Manager, Electrical and mechanical engineering, medium, private sector)

Furthermore, municipalities strive to select refugees who have skills that are relevant to work in Dutch organizations, for instance of being on time and informing when being sick. Employers in this sample found it useful that municipalities only offer refugees who are prepared to work within a Dutch organization. Then, employing a refugee is still an investment that needs time and money, but employers are more confident that the benefits exceed costs. Municipalities are thus expected to make good matches between employers and refugees, based on skills and having good selection criteria, for instance having motivated, healthy refugees who speak the Dutch language to a certain degree.

On the other hand, however, municipalities aim to increase the labour market participation of refugees and to reduce benefit costs. In this way, municipalities sometimes select refugees, regardless of having a fit between the employer and the refugee. The advisor of VluchtelingenWerk recognizes this problem by stating:

“What makes it difficult for municipalities, is that there is pressure to get people out of the benefits quickly.”

As a consequence, some employers are linked to refugees who are less motivated or have less relevant skills. It is then much more costly for employers to invest in these refugees, which might lead to unwillingness to employ refugees in the future. The matching quality is therefore crucial in order to make sure employers have minimal concerns during the employment. One job coach thinks that municipalities should level more with employers to understand what they need, as she says:

“There are many possibilities, but municipalities do not speak the language of entrepreneurs, they have no idea what is necessary.” (Job coach 2)

This can be increased, for instance by reducing the time necessary for the application procedure, providing individually- tailored support, arranging insurances and having good matching quality, by improving the recognition of foreign qualifications and skills. The deployment of, for instance, a job coach, who can level with employers and who reserves time to guide employers individually can then be useful.

Making good matches and having good selection criteria on the one side is thus important for employers to have minimal concerns, but on the other side municipalities feel pressure to employ as many refugees as possible. This sometimes leads to a tension that employers experience, which does not always lead to a higher labour market participation of refugees.

4.4. Selection criteria

Finally, insights into selection criteria, as used by the employers in this sample when employing refugees, is relevant to this study. What considerations do employers make before deciding whether or not to employ a refugee?

Selection criteria can be specialized into criteria that are used to select refugees and characteristics of the organization. Table 4.2 summarizes relevant criteria, which are broken down into types of organizations.

		Public sector	Private sector		
		Large	Small	Medium-sized	Large
Refugee characteristics	Language	X (Minimal B1 level)	X	X	X
	Education and work experience	Only selects high-educated refugees	Select on relevant skills	Select on relevant skills	Select on relevant skills
	Motivation	X	X	X	X
Organizational characteristics	Health	X	X	X	X
	Capacities	X	X, (minimal capacities)	X	X
	Support: Senior management	X			
	Support: Employees	X	X	X	X

Table 4.2 Selection criteria

4.4.1. Refugee characteristics

When analysing criteria that are used to select relevant refugees, an important distinction has to be made between lower-skilled jobs and higher-skilled jobs. Empirical data showed that organizations with low educated work have employed refugees, but also one organization with high educated work was willing to employ refugees. The degree of selecting on refugee characteristics turned out to be different between these organizations.

One organization, within the public sector only invests in hiring high educated refugees, who have a minimal level of University or applied University. Yet, estimating the educational level of refugees has been difficult, since certificates are mostly not officially recognized. Therefore, refugees are tested by doing several assessments, as the employer states:

“There is a NOA test, which is an assessment of which we have heard from the UAF, that it is the only assessment that takes cultural differences into account. A regular assessment is very cultural-related.

Dutch people are prepared to do this test for their entire life, and they are not.” (Coordinator traineeships, large, Public sector)

This employer also indicates the level of knowing the Dutch language as important selection criteria. While all employers in this sample emphasize the importance of language, this employer requires candidates to have a minimal language level of B1. Employed refugees are expected to write and speak the Dutch language just as other people within the organization. A job coach also deals with language requirements in some organizations, but states that high educated refugees will always be disadvantaged when it comes to the Dutch language compared to Dutch employees.

Most organizations in this sample provide work on an intermediate vocational education level (in Dutch MBO). For these organizations, having relevant skills for the job, is one of the main selection criteria. Municipalities provide CV's to employers with relevant candidates and employers select several candidates for a trial period. These candidates can, for instance have a technical background, but interviews showed that potential candidates can also have a different background. One employer states:

“From these five people, we have employed one. That is funny, because originally he was a bookkeeper who then became a janitor in his country and he had nothing with cars in terms of a CV. Ultimately he proved to be the most useful of everyone and also the most social.” (Deputy director, transport sector, large, private sector)

Almost all organizations in this sample mentioned the difficulty of recognizing the background of the refugee. The employer states:

“They can give me a CV, but that does not say much to me.” (General director, plumbing sector, small, private sector)

One employer specifically mentioned to prefer refugees who did not follow a relevant education in its country of origin. Rules are stricter in the Netherlands and Dutch organizations make use of different material. This employer states:

“Preferably not. The rules in other countries are not always the same as in the Netherlands. Here you have to comply to all kinds of rules.” (HRM manager, Electrical and mechanical engineering, medium-sized, private sector)

Employers also experienced refugees that take lower-skilled jobs, which do not align with their actual skill level. Several employers in this sample do not prefer overqualified refugees, since it can be less sustainable in the long term. They prefer to employ refugees who have certifications on the same level as for the job they apply to. However, one employer in the construction sector had good experiences with an overqualified refugee, because he turned out to be very motivated to do this work.

Most refugees in these organizations get the opportunity to learn on the job and to follow additional education. Refugees are then trained in a way that can be applied to the organization they work in. In some municipalities, employers qualify themselves for financial compensation.

One organization in this study employed refugees for a job in the catering sector that does not need any level of education. Hence, education and work experience obtained in the country of origin did not play any role when employing these refugees. They learned on the job and followed additional safety and language training. Eventually, one refugee, now follows additional education to get promotion within the organization.

Employers who select refugees for low-skilled jobs also indicate knowledge of the Dutch language as an important selection criterium. It is needed for safety reasons in the workplace, but also for communication with managers and colleagues as an employer states:

“It is problematic when you are not familiar with the Dutch language. If someone is calling something, you just need some background knowledge of what is being said. You have to master your subjunctives. It does not have to be without mistakes, but they must understand it well enough.”

(General director, construction sector, medium-sized, private sector)

One large organization and one medium-sized organization provide language training to refugees, in order to increase their level of the Dutch language. Other organizations experience an increase of language skills when working within a Dutch organization.

Furthermore, motivation turned out to be one of the most important conditions for all organizations to employ refugees. Effort, attitude, willingness to learn, showing enthusiasm are all factors that play a role when deciding who will be hired. In order to estimate whether the refugee is motivated and fits within the organization, all employers plan an interview with refugees and often the contact person to get to know each other. Face-to-face contact between employers and refugees turned out to influence the willingness to employ. One employer states:

“Most importantly is that you just look someone in the eye. Then I know for 80% who is in front of me. When you see someone coming in and sitting down, I mostly know enough.” (Manager, Electrical and mechanical engineering, medium, private sector)

Finally, employers are more willing to employ refugees who are in good health. Although employers do not ask refugees about their health situation, they expect municipalities to select healthy refugees.

4.4.2. Organizational characteristics

Organizations that employ a refugee also take the capacity of the organization into account, because hiring a refugee is an investment that needs resources, such as time and money. The advisor of VluchtelingenWerk agrees by stating: *“If you want to be successful in this, it asks energy, time and investment, that is what it is.”*

Although employers in this sample had the capacity to guide refugees individually, sizes of these organizations did matter. The small organization in this sample faced more difficulties in terms of capacities, compared to medium-sized and large organizations. The general director of the small organization tells:

“If he would stop following the course he is in [training by municipality red.], he would be able to work full-time with me, next to his language courses. But then I was supposed to offer him a contract, but I am too small for that, I do not dare to take the risk.” (General Director, plumbing sector, small, private sector)

This small employer had to select the refugee on more selection criteria as more knowledge of the Dutch language, obtaining a driving license and having more relevant skills, compared to medium-sized and large organizations. A job coach recognizes the difference in capacities between small and large organizations, especially when it comes to the flexibility of refugees, due to civic integration courses. As she states:

“There is a certain barrier, but that is also because of flexibility. For employers, especially in this region, when they are smaller, it is not practical. Tuesday morning available and Tuesday afternoon not available. That is difficult to plan.” (Job coach 2)

For small organizations it may sometimes be too costly to provide the support and training that is necessary before a refugee can work independently. The medium-sized and large organizations in this study had more resources to organize the right support on the work floor.

Finally, when comparing employers in this sample with each other, it turned out that support of the organization influenced the decision whether or not to employ a refugee. Support of the organization can further be specialized into senior management support, employee support and client support. Especially the public organization in this sample needed formal permission of several managers before a special project group could start organizing traineeships. The coordinator of this team emphasizes the importance of organizing it in the right way:

“It is essential to make it successful, because otherwise you can never do it again in this organization. That is mainly why we spend so much time on preparation, because we really want it to succeed.”
(Coordinator traineeships, large, public sector)

After the project group got official permission to start preparing the traineeships, they contacted other organizations that already had employed refugees, to exchange knowledge and experiences. Although this study only includes one public organization, the process of preparing the employment of refugees has been different compared to the private organizations. The public organization might feel more pressure to succeed in the employment of refugees, since the organization is publicly visible (Azmat & Zutshi, 2012). Public organizations are accountable to its citizens and investing in refugees is only possible with political permission. The public organization therefore need political support, before starting to invest in the employment of refugees, especially since it has been a sensitive topic that got much negative media attention. Private sector organizations, on the other hand, run on commercial principals and are owned by company members (Mulgan, 2000). In most private organizations in this study, the employment of refugees was initiated by the general director or manager. In this way, senior management has been engaged, which makes the decision to employ refugees easier.

Besides needing the support of senior management, conveying employees the rationale behind hiring refugees has also been important. Although one small organization and one medium-sized organization specifically mentioned communicating with employees about the decision to employ a refugee, other organizations also recognized the importance of involving the organization.

“I have also submitted it to my employees. They actually had no choice, but I wanted to know what the reaction was. If the reaction was like, is that really necessary, I did not want to force it. They mean a lot to me. But it was fine.” (General director, plumbing sector, small, private sector)

Medium-sized and small employers also mentioned to communicate with their clients when employing refugees. While the decision of employers did not depend on the reaction of clients and employers

experienced no difficulties with clients, they stated that clear communication is necessary. Refugees are often linked to co-workers in the beginning, to explain the situation well with clients, especially when the refugee needs extra support on the work floor. The support of clients was less relevant to the large organizations in this sample, but this might be explained because of less direct contact between employed refugees and clients.

4.5. Conclusions

Insights of the qualitative study are in this section linked to theoretical assumptions. The conceptual model is on the one hand extended by adding several factors, but some factors, on the other hand, turned out not to be relevant and are excluded from the model. This section discusses the factors of the conceptual model, consisting of refugee characteristics, organizational characteristics and institutional characteristics.

4.5.1. Refugee characteristics

Based on insights of the human capital theory, it was expected that previous work experience and education provide marketable skills and abilities relevant to employers. Employers in this study tend to take the background, including education and work experience of refugees into account, as presented on a CV. However, employers face difficulties, concerning recognizing documents of refugees, and as a result, they test refugees during a trial period or with assessments. While employers with low-skilled jobs, participating in this study, mostly select refugees on relevant skills, the organization with high-skilled jobs test the educational level with an assessment. Based on the interviews, it can be concluded that despite one organization in the electrical and mechanical engineering sector strives to have employees with a technical background, for most organizations, education and previous work experience is less relevant. After refugees are employed, they get support on the job and follow additional education. In this way, employers can train refugees in relevant skills for the organization. Hence, contrary to what was expected from the human capital theory, prior work experience and education of refugees tend not to play a large role when employing a refugee, since employers find it difficult to judge the relevance of prior education and work experience.

Another factor, as part of the human capital theory, is the relevance of Dutch language skills. This study found empirical evidence for the importance of the Dutch language skills favouring the decision to employ refugees. When refugees are not familiar with the Dutch language, it forms a major barrier in terms of safety reasons and workplace communication. Most employers in this sample only employed a refugee when he or she has basic knowledge of the Dutch language, and one organization even requires a minimal language level of B1. As expected from the human capital theory, employers are more likely to employ refugees who have knowledge of the Dutch language.

Furthermore, the condition health was expected to be necessary for employers when employing a refugee. Employers in this sample turned out to not explicitly ask refugees about their health condition, but they expect municipalities to select healthy refugees who are able to work in organizations. Two employers experienced health problems in the workplace, but because this was noticed during the trial period, they decided not to keep these refugees as new employees.

Subsequently, the health situation of refugees, as part of the human capital, is a necessary precondition for employers when considering to employ a refugee.

Even while the factor motivation has not been an element of the human capital theory, interviews gave the insight that employers only employ a refugee who is really motivated to work within the organization. Employers act rational by selecting motivated workers, because it can contribute to positive organizational outcomes, such as more productivity, organizational commitment and lower turnover risk (Buers et al., 2018). Job coaches in this study emphasized the importance of creating more contact between refugees and employers to give employers an indication of the motivation of

refugees. Employers can in this way see the benefits of employing refugees. Similar to the factor health, motivation of refugees can also be regarded as necessary condition for the employment of refugees, since employers are only willing to employ motivated refugees. The factor motivation is included in the model as precondition for the employment of refugees.

4.5.2. Organizational characteristics

Besides relevant refugee characteristics, organizational characteristics also turned out to influence the degree of employing a refugee.

This study found no evidence that the economic position of organizations explains the willingness to employ a refugee. When organizations have a good economic position, they are not necessarily more willing to employ a refugee, as the capacity of organizations should also be taken into account.

Employing a refugee is an investment that needs time and money, and the organization needs to find opportunities to provide training and guidance on the work floor. It can therefore be concluded that capacities of organizations instead of the economic position can explain employers' behaviour when employing a refugee. Since the influence of capacities has not been derived from the theory, this factor is added to the conceptual model. The relevance of capacity as well as the economic position will further be investigated in the quantitative study.

Another important factor is the influence of level of difficulty of fulfilling vacancies. In this study, organizations within the construction sector, transport sector and electrical and mechanical engineering sector struggled to find skilled labour. The group of refugees then comes into the picture when organizations have recruitment problems. Having vacancies that are difficult to fulfil changes the cost-benefit relation which makes it beneficial to start trial periods with refugees. During the trial period, employers choose whether or not to keep the refugee as new employee. Dealing with labour shortages thus appeared to influence the willingness to employ refugees.

When looking at the size of organizations, it turned out that large and medium-sized organizations had more capacities in terms of time and money to employ refugees. These employers had more opportunities to invest in the employment of refugees, for instance by investing in additional training or language training. The small organization could only employ a refugee when the refugee met several selection criteria, as speaking the Dutch language. Medium-sized and large size organizations in this study also gave more priority to employ refugees, because they faced more vacancies to fulfil. However, conclusions should be made carefully, because this sample only includes one small organization. The relationship between size of organizations and the willingness to employ a refugee will therefore further be investigated in the quantitative study.

Furthermore, due to the small sample size of this study, consisting of only one public organization, it cannot be concluded whether public organizations are more willing to employ refugees than private organizations. The public organization indicated that being socially responsible and having a diversified workforce played a role when deciding to offer traineeships to refugees. Further, internal support in terms of political support and management support was needed before the organization could start organizing these traineeships. Differences between public and private organizations will further be explored with the vignette study.

While looking at the factor diversity management practices, it only appeared to play a role within the public organization. This organization does not have formal activities to increase the diversity, but getting a diversified workforce is promoted, for instance by organizing traineeships for refugees. In contrast, diversity management has not been a predictor for the employment of refugees in private sector organizations in this sample. Since this study only consists of one public organization, one should be careful with drawing conclusions about diversity management practices as explanation for the employment of refugees.

Several employers in this study indicated to employ a refugee because of a desire to behave in a socially responsible way. These employers found it motivating to contribute to the successful integration of the increased number of refugees in the Netherlands. The motivation for this desire can be explained in different ways. While one private organization aimed at helping people with a limited access to the labour market, this strategy has economic benefits, when the organization meets SROI criteria to deliver to the public sector. Employing a refugee is then a rational choice, because this social behaviour has beneficial outcomes (Orlitzky et al., 2003). The public organization on the other hand, is willing to behave in a socially responsible way, from a desire to be a 'good employer'. It felt pressures from the environment to provide help to the group of refugees as employer (Jamila, 2008). Yet, this organization also responded rational to these pressures, because it only invested in the employment of refugees when it considered it as being beneficial to the organization. Personal contact as employer with a refugee appeared to be helpful, because employers then create a goodwill towards providing help to that specific refugee. Therefore, it can be concluded that the degree to behave in a socially responsible way might explain why employers would employ a refugee. Lastly, the influence of internal support, including management support and employee support, was found substantial. Especially the public organization in this study appeared to need the support of managers and political parties. This might be, because public organizations are more visible and need to be accountable for its citizens. In most private organizations, the employment of refugees was initiated by the general director or manager and therefore senior management was already engaged. Besides the support of senior management, involving the organization and feeling the support of other employees was also an important factor in all organizations in this sample. Co-workers often need to guide refugees and when these workers are more willing to help, the employment has a higher chance to be successful. Feeling the support of the organization thus appeared to influence employers' decision when employing a refugee, subsequently, this factor is added to the conceptual model.

4.5.3. Institutional characteristics

Most employers in this study turned out not to be informed about the practices of other organizations with respect to the employment of refugees. Although only one public organization contacted other organizations that have employed refugees, practices of other organizations cannot be determined as an important factor, since this organization already decided to employ refugees. Subsequently, based on the interviews, the practices of other organizations that have employed refugees appeared not to influence the willingness of employers to employ a refugee.

On the contrary, it can be concluded that social policy support influences employers' behaviour when employing refugees. It is found that social policy support varies between municipalities and between the extent to which organizations make use of social policies. For instance, some organizations preferred to use a trial period. In this study, especially organizations that employed refugees, because of economic reasons, first wanted to test refugees during a trial period. Trial periods are considered as useful, because placements are unpaid and without obligations as offering a job afterwards or signing contracts. Even while employers can qualify themselves for financial support, interviews with employers did not show the importance of this support. In contrast, the support of a contact person, either from the municipality or from self-employed job coaches has been considered as helpful. Employers want to have minimal concerns during the employment of refugees, but mostly struggle with issues as insurances, communicating with the refugee and length of the trial period. Providing up-to-date information and individually-tailored support to employers is necessary to make employers willing to employ refugees. Social policy support can in this way influences the cost-benefit relation of employers and therefore make the employment of refugees beneficial.

Municipalities have thus created several triggers to increase the labour market position of refugees. However, interviews reveal that municipalities might feel a tension in goals between assisting many

refugees to work, and investing in matching qualities. This study showed the relevance of facilitating the matching process between organizations and refugees, because the employment has then a higher chance to succeed.

4.5.4. Extended model

Results of the qualitative study are summarized in figure 4.1. The interviews show, contrary to what was expected, that education and work experience not play a large role when employing a refugee. The Dutch language skills, on the other hand, explain employers' decision to employ a refugee. Besides considering health as a necessary precondition, do interviews show that refugees' motivation is also a necessary precondition when employing a refugee. Regarding organizational characteristics, the capacity of the organization, instead of the economic position, explains the employment of refugees. In addition, the level of fulfilling vacancies and the degree of corporate social responsibility influence the employment of refugees, which is in line with the theory. Internal support, including management support and employee support, is added to the conceptual model, since it has not been suggested from the theory, but from empirical data. Diversity management, size and public sector organizations cannot be linked to the willingness to employ refugees. Finally, as suggested from the theory, social policies aimed at stimulating the employment of refugees, influence the behaviour of employers. Yet, paying attention to the practices of other organizations, does not explain this.

Based on heron, it can be concluded that Dutch language skills, the level of fulfilling vacancies and social policy support, consisting of a contact person and financial support, are interesting conditions to further investigate within a larger N study. Although the condition, relevant education obtained in the country of origin, did not play a role for employers in this study, it might be important for other employers. Hence, this will further explored in the vignette study. To summarize, Dutch language skills, education, level of fulfilling vacancies, support of a contact person and financial support are conditions that will be tested in the quantitative vignette study.

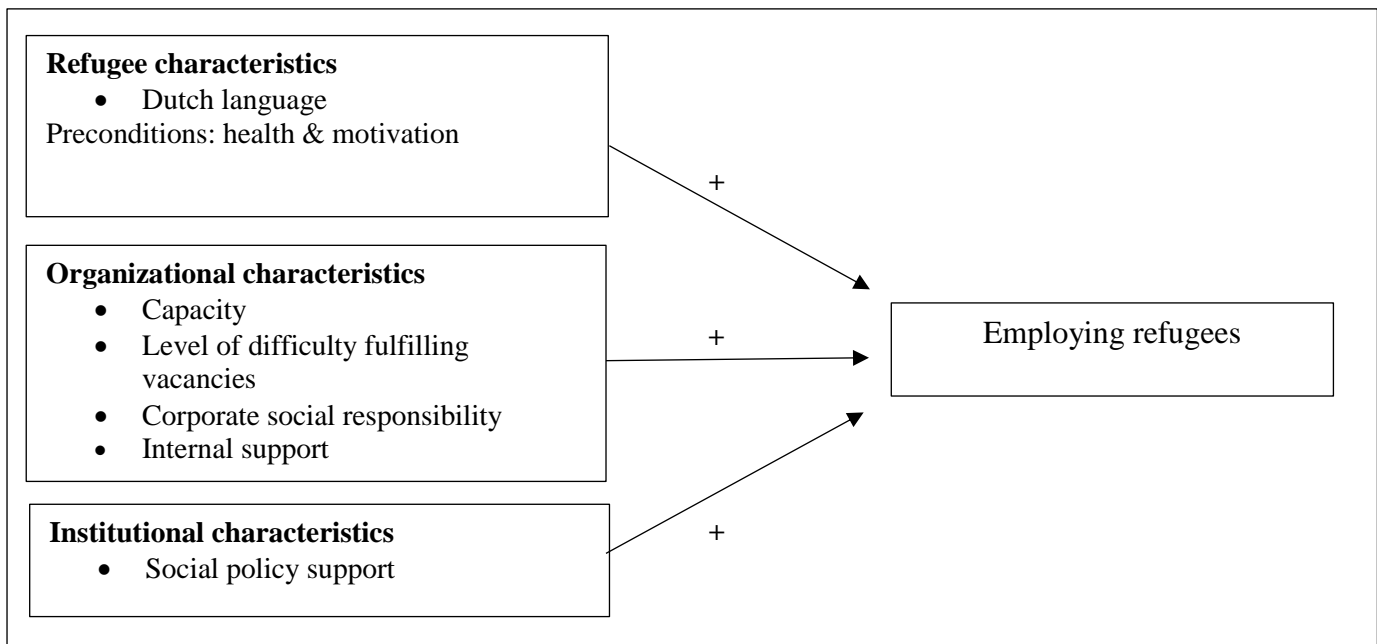


Figure 4.1. model that explains conditions for employers to employ refugees, based on qualitative results

5. Results quantitative study

In this chapter, the findings of the quantitative study are presented. First, the descriptive statistics are discussed and secondly the correlation table is described. In the third chapter, assumptions to do a multilevel analysis are explained and in the final section, a multilevel analysis is performed to test hypotheses.

5.1. Descriptive statistics

	N observations	Min.	Max.	Mean	S.D.
Employing a refugee	46	1	10	4.77	2.812
Diversity management practices	46	1	5	2.91	0.987
Corporate social responsibility	46	1	5	4.09	0.906
Capacity	46	1	5	3.17	1.111
Practices other organizations	46	1	5	2.91	1.250
Economic position	46	1	5	3.93	0.485

Table 5.1. Descriptive statistics of variables

Table 5.1 shows the descriptive statistics of the dependent variable and organizational characteristics. Employers give the vignettes an average score of 4.77 on a scale from 1 to 10. The standard deviation is 2.8, which indicates data to be widely spread. In other words, there is much variety in the extent employers are willing to employ a refugee. Another remarkable observation is the high mean of the self-reported degree of corporate social responsibility of 4.09. On average, employers in this study state the economic position of their organization to be healthy.

Each vignette is judged between 7 and 12 times. When looking at the lowest average of the scores employers give to the vignettes, two vignettes have a mean of 2.20. A similarity between these vignettes is that they both include the conditions that the refugee is not speaking the Dutch language very well, that the refugee has not obtained a relevant education in the country of origin and that the refugee applies to a job that is hard to fulfil. The vignette with the highest score of 8.11 and the vignette with the second highest score on average (7.8), correspond to the conditions that the refugee speaks the Dutch language and that the refugee has obtained a relevant education for the job. Interestingly, the vignette that has a score of 7.8 has the conditions that there is no contact person and no financial support available. This would indicate that especially the Dutch language skills and education obtained in the country of origin are important conditions for employers. The relevance of conditions will be further explored with the multilevel analysis.

5.2. Correlations

Table 5.2 summarizes correlations between the variables as used in this study.

	1.	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
1. Extent to employ	1.00														
2. Language	.43**	1.00													
3. Education	.33**	-.03	1.00												
4. Vacancy hard to fulfil	-.02	.01	-.01	1.00											
5. Contact person	.07	-.05	.03	.01	1.00										
6. Financial support	.09	-.01	-.01	.01	.00	1.00									
7. Public organization	.03	.05	-.03	-.06	-.07	-.01	1.00								
8. Small organization	.02	-.01	-.11*	-.06	-.03	.06	.08	1.00							
9. Medium-sized	-.18**	-.03	.03	.00	.05	-.01	-.20**	-.30**	1.00						
10. Large organization	.15**	.04	.05	.04	-.02	-.04	.13*	-.44**	-.72**	1.00					
11. Diversity management	.24**	.03	-.03	.01	-.01	-.02	.28**	-.21**	-.22**	.36**	1.00				
12. CSR	.06	.04	.05	-.05	.01	.06	.20**	.16**	-.22**	.09	.01	1.00			
13. Capacities	.29**	.05	-.07	.04	-.02	.06	.09	-.18**	-.28**	.39**	.50**	-.12*	1.00		
14. Attention to others	.23**	-.02	-.06	-.01	-.09	-.05	.10	.13*	-.40**	.28**	.12*	.26**	.22**	1.00	
15. Economic position	.15**	.02	-.08	-.07	-.06	-.05	-.23**	.18**	-.19**	.05	-.08	-.04	.18**	.24**	1.00

Table 5.2. Correlations for variables in the analysis, N=322.

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed). * Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

The correlation table shows, in line with expectations, that Dutch language skills and obtaining a relevant education positively correlates with the extent to employ a refugee. Vacancies that are hard to fulfil, however, relates negatively with the employment. In other words, if vacancies are difficult to fulfil, employers are less likely to employ a refugee. Although this has not been expected from the theory, this relation is not significant. There is also no significant correlation found between the conditions contact person with the willingness to employ and financial support with the willingness to employ.

As expected from theoretical assumptions, organizational characteristics diversity management practices, capacities, attention to others and economic position correlate positively with the extent to employ refugees. When an organization has diversity management practices, it tends to be more willing to employ a refugee. Employers who have a healthy economic position or have the capacity are significantly more inclined to employ a refugee. Employers are also significantly more willing to employ a refugee, when they know other employers who have hired a refugee.

Table 5.2 furthermore indicates that medium-sized organizations correlate negatively with respect to employing a refugee, compared to large and small organizations. On the contrary, large organizations are significantly more willing to employ a refugee, compared to medium-sized and small organizations. Large organizations correlate significantly strong with medium-sized organizations (.702). Capacities further strongly correlates with diversity management (.5). Yet, other correlations are under .5, which indicates that the variables tap different aspects.

5.3. Assumptions

Before a multilevel analysis can be performed, a number of assumptions are tested, to ensure a multilevel analysis works. The first assumption that is explored is the units of analysis in both levels of the multilevel analysis. This study has 322 vignettes at level 1 and 51 units of analysis in level 2, which indicates that there is sufficient number of levels to justify a multilevel analysis (Snijders, 2004).

The second criteria relates to normality of distribution of the data. This has been tested by looking at the Shapiro-Wilk test. In this study, the Shapiro-Wilk test is .917 and Sig < .05, suggesting that the distribution of the extent to employ a refugee is not normal. This might be explained, because of the outliers, especially the extreme score of 1, which is given by several employers. Field (2013) however, criticizes the Shapiro-Wilk test when testing the normality of data and argues to use a p-plot. The p-plot plots the observed sample data against the values which is expect when it is normal distributed, as

shown in figure 5.1. It shows that there is some deviation from the expected normal line towards the tails, but overall the line looks straight. It can therefore be questioned whether the data is normal distributed and this assumption can therefore not fully be violated.



Figure 5.1. P-Plot dependent variable; willingness to employ a refugee

It is also explored whether the assumption of multicollinearity can be violated. Multicollinearity refers to high correlations between the variables. According to Clark (2013) there is only little attention to the effect of multicollinearity in multilevel modelling, compared to Ordinary Least Squares (OLS). To test multicollinearity, this study follows other scholars, who argue that variance inflation factor (VIF) in multilevel regression is conceptually equal to that in OLS regression (e.g. Dickinson & Basu, 2005). Therefore, VIF is used to test multicollinearity in multilevel modelling. The VIF gives all predictors smaller than 5, which suggests that this study does not face multicollinearity.

The fourth assumption underlying a multilevel analysis is linearity (Field, 2013). In order to perform a multilevel analysis, the dependent variable should be linear. Performing a scatterplot suggests that the assumption of linearity has been met. The scatterplot is given in Appendix C.

Finally, it is checked whether there is homogeneity. This is tested by looking at the plot of the standardized predicted values against the standardized residuals (Field, 2013). Looking at this scatterplot shows that the points are spread and do not form a funnel. Hence, the assumption of homoscedasticity cannot be violated (see Appendix C).

Following Field (2013), one of the benefits of a multilevel analysis is that one can aside the assumption that observations are independent. As discussed in the method section, respondents in this study have judged multiple vignettes and therefore data has a hierarchical structure. By running a multilevel analysis, we can overcome the problem of clustered data.

5.4. Multilevel analysis

This study produces a dataset with two levels: the vignette conditions as level 1, which includes 322 vignettes as unit of analysis and employers as level 2 that contains 51 units of analysis. The multilevel analysis is built with a random intercept model, because this study expects that the willingness to

employ a refugee vary between employers, but different employers do not consider certain vignette conditions as more important (Field, 2013). Only respondents that have a valid score on all variables are taken into account, which results in a N of 322.

The explained variance at both levels is measured, by calculating the ICC at both levels. Measuring the explained variance in this way has several advantages as well as disadvantages. An advantage is that it allows the researcher to compare the residual variance components to those from the null model. However, a major disadvantage is the simple measures of the explained variance, which can be problematic when they result in negative values. This can occur because the between-group variance is a function of both Level 1 and Level 2 variances (LaHuis et al., 2014). Even though in model 1 the explained variance at employers' level also gives a negative value, it is decided to measure the explained variance in this way, because of its accessible measurement tool (LaHuis et al., 2014). The overall fit of a multilevel model is tested using a chi-square likelihood ratio test, which SPSS reports as -2LL (Field, 2013). The LL is therefore reported to see whether adding variables improves the overall fit of the model.

To compare outcomes with each other, all variables are standardized, by deriving the standardized coefficient from the unstandardized coefficient. To do this, each effect was multiplied by the standard deviation of the predictor and divided by the standard deviation of the outcome variable (Hox, 2010). In order to control for variation in respondents' position, the position of respondents is added in model 2, model 3 and model 4 as control variable.

	Intercept- only model	Model 1 Vignette conditions	Model 2 Vignette conditions + organizational variables	Model 3 Vignette conditions + organizational variables + interaction practices of others	Model 4 Vignette conditions + organizational variables + all interactions
Intercept	4.77***	1.89***	-4.72**	-12.36***	-9.33*
Vignette conditions					
Language skills		0.444***	0.439***	0.436***	0.437***
Education		0.369***	0.378***	0.377***	0.374***
Vacancy difficult to fulfil		0.005	0.000	0.007	0.010
Contact person		0.097**	0.105***	0.094**	-0.578
Financial support		0.122***	0.127***	0.129***	-0.189
Organizational characteristics					
Public organization			-0.059	-0.207	-0.305*
Small organizations			0.176**	-0.132	-0.184
Medium-sized organizations			0.058	0.030	0.059
Diversity management			0.166**	0.278**	0.241
CSR			-0.026	0.479***	0.439**
Capacities			0.179**	0.249***	0.255***
Attention to others			0.220***	1.494*	1.426*
Economic position			0.104	0.151	0.061
Control variable					
Position: Owner			-0.084	-0.068	-0.051
Position: HRM manager			0.117*	0.135**	0.149**
Interaction effects					
Attention to others * Small organizations				0.103*	0.176**
Attention to others* CSR				-0.174***	-0.167***
ICC vignette level	-	.477	.477	.477	.491
ICC employers level	-	-0.233	.622	.806	.823
LL	1547.93	1369.06	1330.01	1314.27	1304.10
LL Change	-	179	39	16	10
Df	3	8	18	24	36
Df change	-	5	10	6	12

Table 5.3. Multilevel models predicting the employment of a refugee on a standardized score, N=322 * p< 0,10, **p< 0,05, ***p<0,01 (all two-tailed).

Table 5.3 presents the results of the analysis. Four models were used to explore employers' decision when employing a refugee. As recommended by Field (2013), the multilevel models are built, starting with a basic model, which includes the intercept-only model. Secondly, in model 1, vignette conditions as level 1 are added and model 2 presents results when organizational characteristics are added to the model. In model 3 and model 4, interaction effects of institutional characteristics on organizational characteristics are tested.

When looking at the intercept-only model, the proportion of the variation in employing a refugee on employers' level is approximately 22.3 per cent, which is a reasonable amount to explain. As such, it appears that there is significant variation at Level 1 and Level 2 to be explained in the model, which suggests that it is appropriate to continue to the multilevel modelling.

The fit in Model 1 is significantly improved, following the chi-square statistics with the change of $df=5$, which gives the critical values of 11.07 ($p < .05$) and 15.09 ($p < .01$). This model confirms the expectation that language skills of refugees predict employers' attitude towards employing a refugee. The likelihood an employer employs a refugee is significantly higher when the refugee has Dutch language skills. Furthermore, this model provides evidence that employers are more willing to employ a refugee who has obtained a relevant education for the job in its country of origin. Yet, the level of difficulty of fulfilling vacancies has no significant effect on the employment of a refugee. Social policy support, as provided by municipalities, significantly increases the willingness of employers to employ a refugee. Employers are almost 10 per cent more willing to employ a refugee, when there is a contact person provided. Moreover, employers are about 12 per cent more likely to employ a refugee, when they get financial compensation. This model explained 47 per cent of vignette level variance and -23 per cent of the employers' level variance. This negative value has been a consequence of the way the ICC is measured in this study, as discussed by LaHuis et al. (2014).

The second model includes organizational characteristics and this model also controls for respondents' position. The critical values for the chi-square statistics for $df=10$ are 18.31 ($p < .05$) and 23.21 ($p < .01$); therefore this model is significantly improved, because 39 is higher than these values. The explained variance at vignette level remains 47 per cent and 62 per cent of the variance at the employers level can be explained by this model. The effect of Dutch language skills remains important, since employers are about 44 per cent more willing to employ a refugee, when he or she speaks the Dutch language. When looking at the effects of the vignette conditions, it can be concluded that the level of knowing the Dutch language is the most important condition for employers when deciding to employ a refugee. This model furthermore provides evidence that refugees who have obtained a relevant education in the country of origin, are more likely to be employed. Employers also significantly consider the support of a contact person as useful and employers are significantly more willing to employ a refugee, when they get financial compensation.

Public organizations do not significantly differ from private sector organizations, when it comes to the willingness to employ a refugee. It is also examined whether small organizations are more likely to employ a refugee than medium-size or large organizations. Small organizations do significantly differ from medium-sized and large organizations. Small organizations are, contrary to the expectation, more willing to employ a refugee, compared to medium-sized and large organizations.

It can further be argued that employers who have included diversity management practices are significantly more willing to employ a refugee. Organizations that have included diversity management practices are around 17 per cent more likely to employ a refugee, compared to organizations without diversity management practices. The economic position of an organization and the degree of corporate social responsibility turned out not to have a significant effect on the willingness to employ a refugee. Although the relevance of measuring the capacity of the organization

was not suggested from the theory, it has a significant effect of about 18 per cent on the willingness to employ. In other words, employers who have the capacity to employ refugees are more likely to hire a refugee.

Finally, the impact of paying attention to other employers is explored. The results indicate that employers who know other employers that have hired a refugee are about 20 per cent more willing to employ a refugee themselves. This effect was statistically significant and can thus be regarded as empirical evidence.

The position of respondents is taken into account as control variable and shows that HRM managers significantly differ from respondents with a position as owner or manager. HRM managers are more willing to employ a refugee.

Model 3 and model 4 explore interaction effects and only significant interaction effects are displayed. Model 3 added the interaction effect of paying attention to other organizations. The critical value for the chi-square statistics is 12.59 ($p < .05$, $df = 6$), therefore model 3 is significantly improved. The variance at vignette level remains 47 per cent, but the explained variance at employers level becomes 80 per cent. The effect of corporate social responsibility becomes significant and moreover, this effect suggests that organizations with a high degree of corporate social responsibility are 48 per cent more willing to employ a refugee. However this effect is only significant in a model that includes an interaction effect, and besides, only one item is used to measure the self-reported degree of corporate social responsibility. It can therefore be questioned whether this variable is well measured. Model 3 furthermore provides evidence that the more employers pay attention to other employers who have employed a refugee, the stronger the relation between small organizations and the willingness to employ a refugee. This interaction effect is plotted in figure 5.2, by using Excel worksheets derived from Dawson (2014). In figure 5.2 represents the Y-axis the willingness to employ a refugee, while the X-axis represents the size of the organization. The two separate lines represent paying less attention to the practices of others and paying much attention to the practices of others. The plot suggests that the likelihood to employ a refugee is larger, when small organizations pay attention to other organizations that have employed a refugee.

Model 3 furthermore found, contrary to the theory, that the impact of corporate social responsibility on the extent to employ a refugee is smaller when organizations pay attention to other organizations. Because corporate social responsibility might not be measured well, this interaction effect cannot be regarded as statistical evidence.

This study did not find any interaction effect of a contact person or financial compensation on organizational characteristics.

In the last model, all interaction effects are added, including the interaction effects which were not significant. Adopting the interaction effects in the model did not significantly improve the model: the critical value of 21.03 ($df = 12$; $p < .05$) is larger than the change of 10.

The effect of corporate social responsibility becomes significant again, but as discussed earlier, this variable might not be measured well. In this model, public organizations become significantly less willing to employ a refugee, compared to private sector organizations. Several interaction effects remain significant in model 4. When organizations pay attention to other organizations, the relation between small organizations and extent to employ is greater. The impact of corporate social responsibility is smaller on the willingness to employ, when organizations pay attention to other organizations that have employed a refugee.

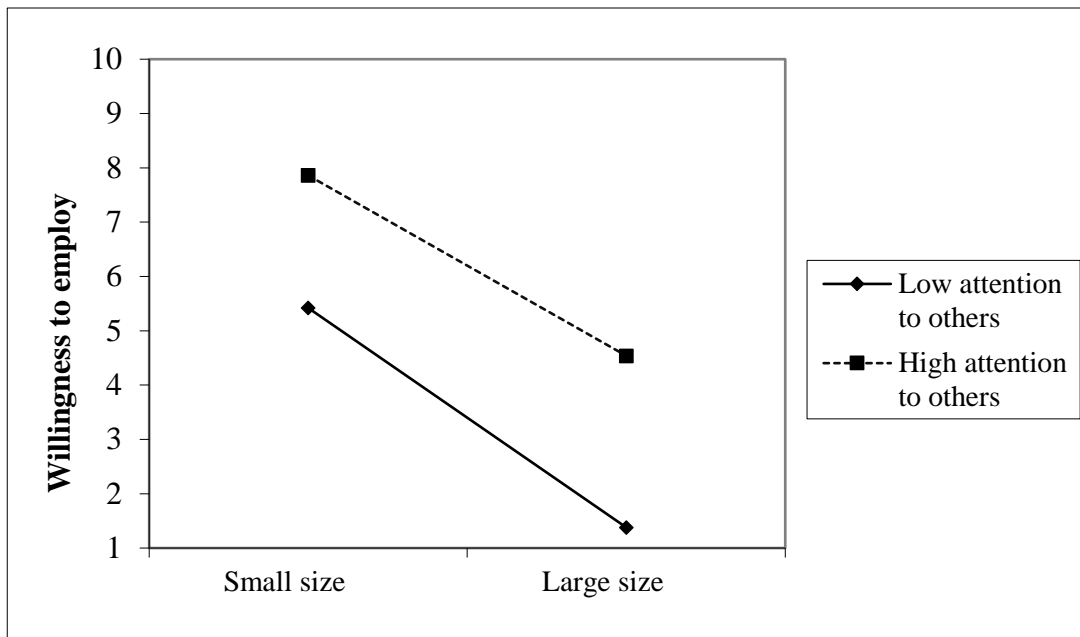


Figure 5.2. Moderation of paying attention to others in the relation between size of organizations and willingness to employ

Conclusions

Results of the quantitative study give us insight into relevant factors that influence the willingness to employ a refugee, as shown in figure 5.3. This model shows the importance of the refugee characteristics Dutch language skills and education obtained in the country of origin when deciding to employ a refugee. Employers indicated the Dutch language skills of refugees, as the most important factor in the decision to employ someone, because it has the strongest effect on the willingness to employ.

Regarding organizational characteristics, the hypothesis that organizations that have diversity management practices are more likely to employ a refugee, is confirmed. This study did not find statistical evidence for the effect of the level of fulfilling vacancies on the willingness to employ a refugee. This might be explained by the fact that the level of fulfilling vacancies is the only organizational characteristic that has been measured as vignette condition, as the other conditions were refugee and institutional characteristics. Hence, it might be that the hypothetical situation of a refugee who applies to a job that is easy/ hard to fulfil was difficult to imagine for respondents. In this way, this condition is not well measured. When looking at the influence of size, it appeared that small organizations are more willing to employ a refugee, compared to medium-sized and large organizations.

The influence of capacities on the employment of refugees, which has not been suggested from the theory, but from insights of the interviews, has significantly been confirmed in this study. When organizations have the capacity, they are more likely to employ a refugee. The economic position has no significant effect on the willingness to employ a refugee. Furthermore, the degree of corporate social responsibility is only associated with the willingness to employ a refugee, in a model that includes an interaction effect. This variable is measured with one item and apart from that, corporate social responsibility is measured as a self-reported responsibility, which might lead to social desirable answers. This argument finds support, when looking at the mean of corporate social responsibility. Organizations give themselves the score of 4.09 on a scale from 1 to 5, which might include a bias.

Consequently, it can be concluded that this variable is not well measured and results cannot be taken into account.

Institutional characteristics as the practices of other organizations also turned out to influence the extent to employ a refugee. Subsequently, the hypothesis is confirmed that employers who know other employers that have employed a refugee, are more likely to employ a refugee. This study also gives insight into the relevance of social policy support. When municipalities provide a person of contact or financial compensation, employers are more willing to employ a refugee. The influence of financial compensation is even a stronger predictor than the influence of a contact person.

To conclude findings with respect to interaction effects, the practices of other organizations is tend to influence small organizations more, since the impact of small organizations on the willingness to employ a refugee is greater when organizations pay attention to other organizations. Small organizations might have more uncertainties, for instance about having the capacity to employ a refugee, but when they know other employers who have employed a refugee, it can stimulate their decision.

To summarize the findings of the quantitative study, the hypotheses are confirmed that the Dutch language and education acquired in the country of origin, positively influence the willingness to employ a refugee. Furthermore, as hypothesized, it is found that diversity management practices, organizations that pay attention to other organizations and social policies, are positively associated with the employment of refugees. Contrary to the expectation, small organizations are more likely to employ a refugee, compared to large organizations. There is also evidence found that the more capacity of the organization, the more the organization is willing to employ a refugee. However, several hypotheses are not supported. The economic position, the degree of corporate social responsibility and level of fulfilling vacancies cannot predict the employment of refugees. Moreover, it cannot be concluded that public organizations are more likely to employ a refugee.

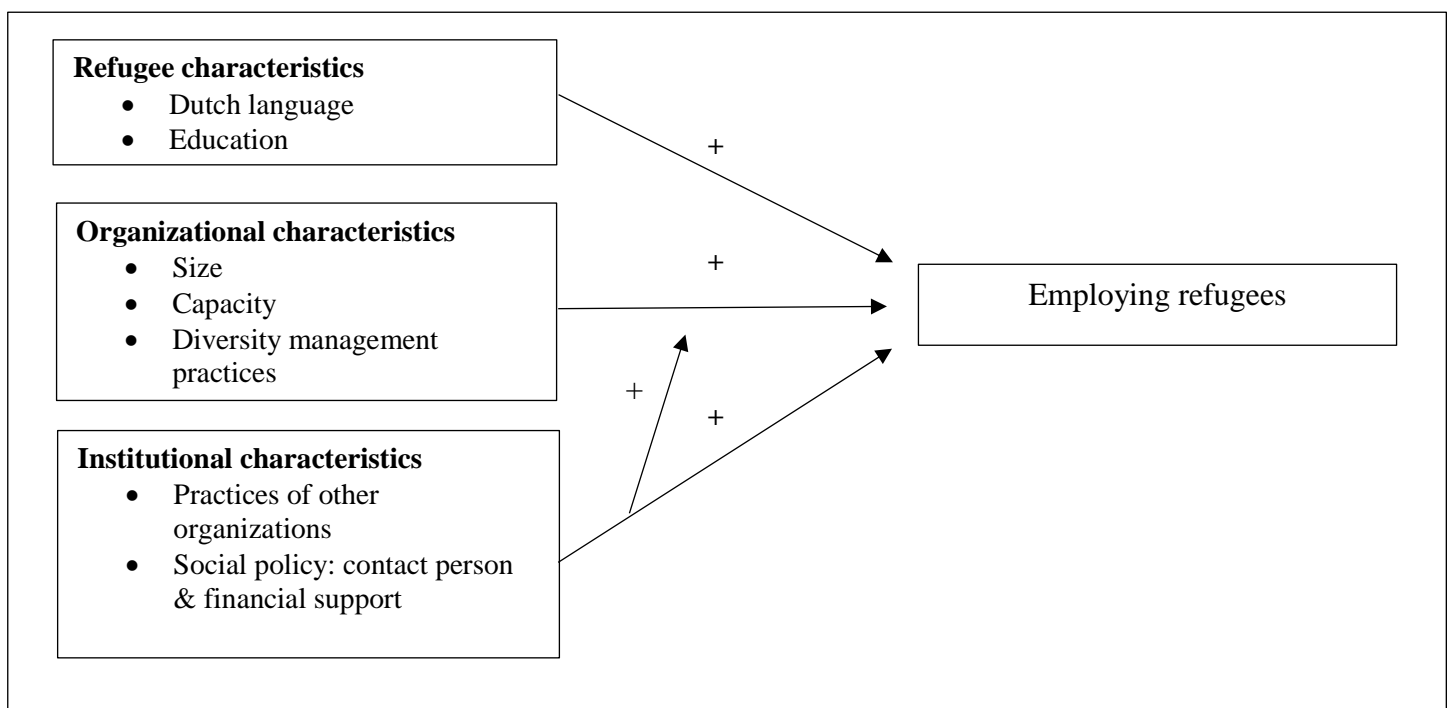


Figure 5.3. Model that explains conditions for employers to employ refugees, based on quantitative results

6. Conclusion

The aim of this study was to explore explanations for the variation between employers regarding employing refugees. This has been investigated by using a mixed-method study in which interviews are combined with a vignette study. This chapter first presents conclusions, and secondly, a reflection on the limitations and directions for future research is discussed. In the final section, several policy recommendations are given.

6.1. Conclusions

Several studies indicated a relatively low labour market participation of refugees (VluchtelingenWerk, 2014; CBS, 2018). Despite the fact that employers are important actors in the labour market participation of refugees, most research has a focus on the position of refugees. The articles that have explored motivations and challenges for employers when employing refugees are mainly empirical and have a lack of a deeper understanding of the phenomenon. This study, therefore, investigated what explains why some employers are willing to employ refugees, while others are not, by embedding the phenomenon in a theoretical framework. To do this, the rational choice theory is complemented with the institutional theory. Relevant refugee characteristics are considered as well as organizational characteristics. Institutional conditions influence the costs and benefits for organizations, therefore some types of organizations are more likely to employ a refugee than others. Institutional characteristics as social policy support and paying attention to other employers are also examined, because the decision to employ a refugee is always embedded in the broader context of the institutional environment.

6.1.1. Refugee characteristics

Integrating a vignette study among different employers with interviews with employers who have employed a refugee, job coaches, a project leader of an association and the national advisor of VluchtelingenWerk gives the insight that some aspects of the human capital explain employers' behaviour. The study found empirical evidence for the importance of the Dutch language skills of refugees when deciding to employ a refugee. When refugees are not familiar with the Dutch language, it forms a major barrier on the work floor in terms of safety reasons and workplace communication. Interviews with employers furthermore indicate that employers find it difficult to judge the relevance of prior education and work experience. Consequently, they test refugees on their skills during a trial period or with some assessments. When a refugee is employed, he or she will be trained on the work floor and will follow additional education. The relevance of education obtained in the country of origin is further tested with a quantitative study, which shows, however that documentations of refugees do matter with respect to the selection of potential new employees. Employers were more willing to employ a refugee when he or she had obtained a relevant education in the country of origin. This difference in results might be explained because interviews are held with employers who have employed a refugee and therefore experienced difficulties when selecting refugees, based on a cv. Most employers within the quantitative study have a lack of this experience, since the majority has not employed a refugee. It can thus be concluded that although documentations of refugees are sometimes hard to recognize, qualifications do play a role in line with the human capital theory. While the factor health is not tested in the vignette study, interviews showed that employers are only willing to employ a refugee who is in good health. Selection criteria of municipalities are important, since employers expect municipalities to take the responsibility in selecting healthy refugees who are able to work in Dutch organizations. Another factor that appears to influence employers' behaviour is the motivation of a refugee. Employers act rational by selecting motivated workers, as they expect that

motivated employees are more beneficial to the organization (Buers et al., 2018). Personal contact between employers and refugees is then needed to show employers the employability of a refugee. Health and motivation of refugees are considered as necessary preconditions when hiring a refugee.

6.1.2. Organizational characteristics

This study furthermore found that six indicators of organizations can explain employers' behaviour. Firstly, it is found that not necessarily the economic position of organizations explains the employment of refugees, but rather the capacity of organizations. Organizations with a good economic position do not automatically have the capacity to invest the time and money that is needed before a refugee can work independently within the organization. This insight found statistical evidence and subsequently, it can be concluded that organizations that have the capacity, are more likely to employ a refugee.

The level of fulfilling vacancies also appeared to influence the willingness to employ a refugee. Several employers in the sample of the qualitative study, struggled with labour market shortages and as a result, they started looking at the group of refugees. The importance of fulfilling vacancies however, has not statistically been confirmed within the vignette study. Respondents might have found the hypothetical situation of a refugee who applies to a job that is easy/ hard to fulfil difficult to imagine, hence this condition is not well measured. Therefore conclusions can only be made based on the interviews, subsequently, the level of fulfilling vacancies explains employers' behaviour, but has a lack of statistical evidence.

In contrast, results of the qualitative and quantitative study do not provide evidence that public organizations are more willingly to employ a refugee.

In addition to organizational characteristics, size is also found to influence employers' decision.

Contrary to the expectation, it appeared that small organizations were more likely to employ a refugee compared to large organizations. One possible explanation for this finding might be that within small organizations, it is easier to create internal support to employ a refugee. When managers and employees support the employment of refugees, the organization will be more likely to employ a refugee. Nevertheless, interviews show that organizations also need the capacity when employing refugees. It appeared that organizations of different sizes can have this capacity.

Furthermore, interviews with employers indicated that in most organizations, employing a refugee does not stem from a desire to create a diversified workforce. However, quantitative results do consider diversity management practices as an important determination. Employers might hope to increase the performance of the organization. Employing refugees is then a rational decision when benefits exceed additional costs (Risberg & Sørderberg, 2008).

Although the degree of corporate social responsibility might not be well measured in the quantitative study, interviews gave the insight that some employers employed a refugee, because of a desire to provide help to the group of refugees. Economic benefits, such as meeting SROI criteria, can form a motivation, but this decision can also be influenced by institutional pressures to be a 'good' employer. Yet organizations act rational when they consider to support refugees, because they only invest in the employment of refugees when it is considered as being beneficial. Hence, the degree to behave in a socially responsible way appeared to explain why employers would employ a refugee.

Finally, organizational support seems to play a role when deciding whether or not to employ a refugee. The employment of refugees has a higher chance to be successful, when there is a willingness of the organization to invest in hiring refugees. This includes senior management, but also employees who have to cooperate with refugees.

6.1.3. Institutional characteristics

Because organizations are embedded within an institutional environment, institutional factors are also studied. Although employers in the interviews were mostly not informed about the practices of other organizations, quantitative research did show that paying attention to the practices of other employers, is positively related to the willingness to employ a refugee. Employers can compare themselves to the standards of the field and imitate each other or can feel pressure when they are interconnected within a climate in which there is attention to the employment of refugees (Yang & Konrad, 2011). Employers are thus more likely to employ a refugee, when they know other organizations that have successfully employed a refugee.

Finally, municipalities have created several drivers and triggers to stimulate the decision of employers to employ a refugee. Especially the use of trial periods, in which employers test refugees without any obligation, is considered as helpful. In addition, employers strive to get individually-tailored support in the form of a contact person when they struggle with issues. The importance of a contact person found statistical evidence. Municipalities can also give financial compensation to employers who employ a refugee. Even while qualitative insights did not indicate the relevance of financial compensation, the vignette study showed that financial support is an even stronger predictor for the willingness to employ than a contact person. Social policy support thus appeared to change the cost-benefit relation of employers and therefore make the employment of refugees beneficial.

Having examined whether institutional characteristics may impact organizations in different ways, it is found that the practices of other organizations tend to influence small organizations more, because the impact of small organizations on the willingness to employ a refugee is bigger when organizations pay attention to other organizations. Small organizations might have uncertainties about whether or not to employ a refugee and when they know other employers who have successfully employed a refugee, it can stimulate their decision.

In figure 6.1 relevant factors that explain employers' behaviour when employing a refugee, are summarized.

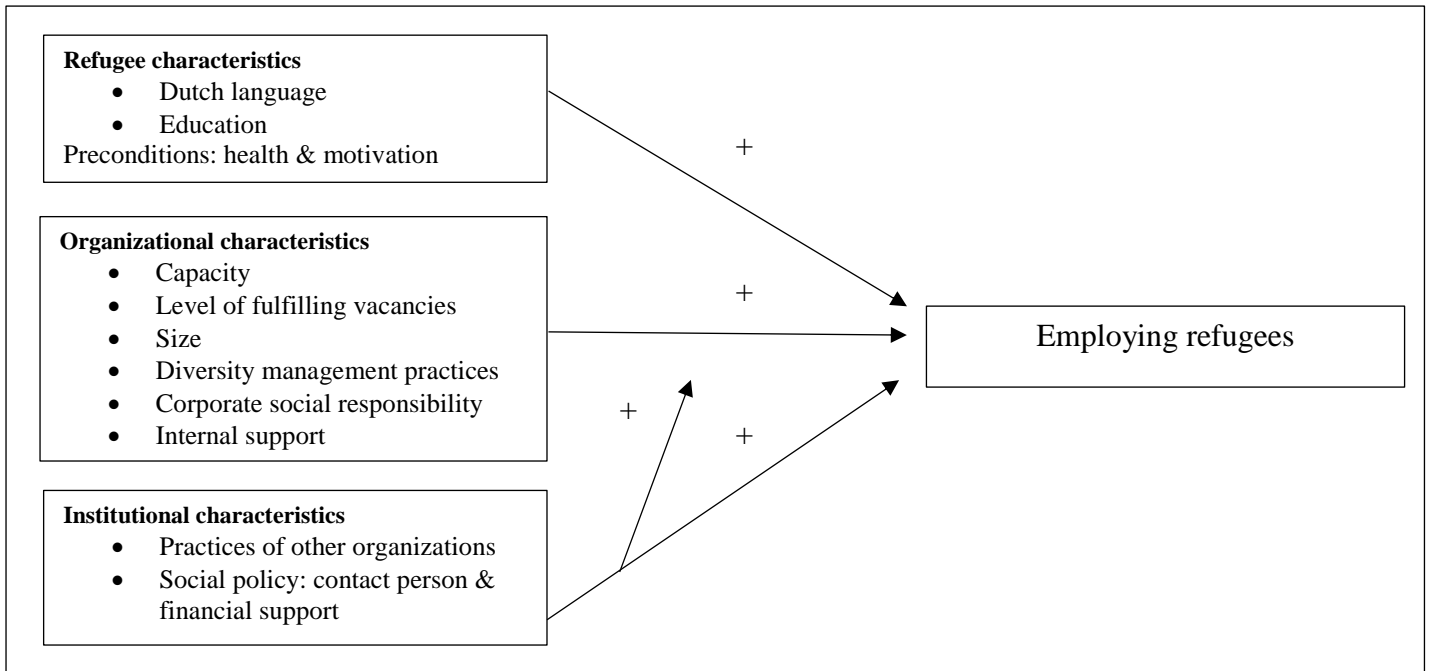


Figure 6.1. Model that explains conditions for employers to employ refugees

In this study, the rational choice theory seems to explain the employment of refugees to a higher extent than the institutional theory (Pollitt, 2002). Employers act rational by striving to have minimal concerns when employing a refugee. They select refugees who fit within the organization and who have the potential to work for a relatively longer period in the organization. In this way, employers are only willing to make an investment in the employment, when it is beneficial. In addition, it is found that employers consider social policy support, provided by municipalities, as useful, for instance testing refugees in a trial period without any obligation or getting the support of a contact person who can help when there are any difficulties. Social policies change the cost-benefit relation in a way that employing a refugee is beneficial. The influence of institutional pressure on employers' behaviour is smaller. At the time of this study, refugees are subject of considerable media and political interest and employers deal with a certain degree of sensitivity around the issue of providing support to refugees (Bakker, 2015). Because of the sensitivity around this issue, employing a refugee is less institutionalized within the environment and employers can feel less pressure to start employing refugees (Tolbert & Zucker, 1983). In addition, there is no evidence found that employers tended to imitate each other, therefore the influence of isomorphism is rather small (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983). Although, public attention to the low labour market participation of refugees can increase new social expectations for employers to provide help to the group of refugees, organizations respond rational, by only investing in the employment of refugees, when benefits exceed costs. Nevertheless, the macro level developments at this moment, such as the economic growth and an increased shortage of personnel might influenced the behaviour of employers in this study. When this study is performed during an economic crisis, other factors might be relevant.

This study has combined the rational choice theory with the institutional theory to explain employers' decision when employing a refugee. Refugee characteristics, organizational characteristics and institutional characteristics are analysed, based on relevant literature. It turned out that the theoretical framework was able to answer the research question. Most factors appeared to influence the employment of refugees and three factors were added to the conceptual model. Nevertheless, it

appeared that the influence of institutional pressure was relatively small. Several expectations were based on literature studying work-family involvement of employers (Den Dulk et al., 2013; Goodstein, 1994; Ingram & Simons, 1995). Within this domain, employers feel institutional pressure to adopt work-family issues, as the government strongly urge employers to adopt work-family options (Goodstein, 1994). Within the domain of employing refugees, municipalities have created several drivers and triggers, but there is no central governmental regulation that can force employers. When reflecting on the theory, employing refugees is less institutionalized than was expected from the theory, which explains why the rational choice theory explains this phenomenon to a higher extent.

6.2. Discussion and directions for future research

The primary contribution of this study was to explain employers' behaviour from a theoretical perspective. Most studies that perform research on this topic are mainly empirical with a lack of theoretical explanations, for instance the studies of the OECD & UNHCR (2016), Razenberg & de Grijter (2017) and Hurstfield et al. (2004). By combining the rational choice theory with the institutional theory, this study pays attention to a deeper explanation of the phenomenon. Another benefit of this study is the use of a mixed-method design. Interviews give a deep understanding of the phenomenon, while the vignette study measures employers' attitude. One major advantage of a mixed method design is that the phenomenon is examined based on a triangulation of data, which gives a more complete and comprehensive understanding (Lieberman, 2005). Finally, the use of the vignette study is beneficial in terms of disentangling relevant conditions when employing a refugee. The vignette study made it possible to investigate employers' behaviour towards hiring a refugee in a more realistic scenario presented to respondents.

However, there are certain limitations to discuss. First of all, data has been collected, using a non-probability sampling method. This limits possibilities of generalizing conclusions to the wider population. As mentioned in the introduction, the aim of this study was to explore employers' behaviour, by making theoretical assumptions. The sample is therefore very diverse and should be considered as a first step in exploring employers' attitudes towards employing a refugee. A second limitation refers to the position of respondents both in the qualitative as quantitative study, which vary between owner, manager and HRM manager. Although the position of respondents has been taken into account as a control variable, it turned out that HRM managers differ significantly from owners or managers regarding deciding whether or not to employ a refugee. Taking respondents from a different position into account has the limitation that respondents vary in the way they have the authority to decide about employment strategies. They may use different selection criteria. Results in the vignette study are analysed with employers as the unit of analysis. Since only one respondent per organization has filled in the survey and these respondents vary with respect to their position, it limits this study. In other words, it remains unclear whether answers of respondents vary, because of respondents details or because of the organization they work in. It would be relevant for future research to focus on several organizations and to take only respondents in the same position into account or to include multiple respondents within one organization to control respondents' differences.

Thirdly, respondents assess a hypothetical situation in the vignette study, which can be different from a real-life situation. The influence of personal contact between employers and refugees for example, turned out to be relevant for employers when deciding whether or not to employ someone. Employers first want to meet the refugee before making an employment decision, but employers in the vignette study, had to decide, based on work-related characteristics of refugees, the labour force situation of the organization and social policy support of the municipality. This is thus a simplification of a real-life situation and employers may act differently in a real-life situation.

An associated limitation is that this study excluded the potential influence of discrimination on the process of employing refugees. Stereotypes about refugees, for instance about an expected lower productivity, can be a barrier for the employment. In the vignette study, employers had to make claims about how they would behave, but they might give socially desirable answers. The potential influence of discrimination is therefore not taken into account. Since there is a lack of specific research on discrimination among the group of refugees, it would be a valuable future research direction (Engbersen et al., 2015).

Another limitation is the lack of distinguishing between employers that provide high-skilled jobs and low-skilled jobs. It turned out that selection criteria for refugees are slightly different for high-skilled jobs than for low-skilled jobs, because employers who want to select high-skilled refugees, need to test refugees on their educational level. Future research is thus needed to specify between high-skilled jobs and low-skilled jobs and to further explore these differences.

The last limitation that will be highlighted is methodological in nature. Several concepts in the vignette study, such as capacities and paying attention to other organizations, are measured with only one statement and these statements are not derived from a well-tested measurement scale. Moreover, the degree of corporate social responsibility might not be measured well, because the item tends to give socially desirable answers. When variables are not carefully measured, results are limited. Future research thus should measure relevant variables more carefully, by using more extensive measurement scales.

6.3. Policy recommendations

Having examined why some employers are more willing to employ a refugee than others, this study will make several recommendations for policy.

Recommendation regarding selection criteria

First of all, insights of this study showed that regarding refugee characteristics, especially Dutch language skills, health and motivation are important conditions for employers when employing a refugee. Hence, employers can have fewer concerns during the employment when municipalities provide a preselection of healthy refugees who are motivated to work in that specific organization and who have a basic knowledge of the Dutch language. Municipalities should be aware of the importance of these selection criteria, in order to make the employment successful. It is therefore advised to invest time and money in the facilitation of making good matches between organizations and refugees. This might increase long-term employment.

Recommendation regarding Dutch language skills

Results of the qualitative and quantitative study indicate the importance of the Dutch language skills for the employment of refugees. The better a refugee speaks the Dutch language, the more employable he or she is on the Dutch labour market. However, the study of Razenberg et al (2017), who included 180 Dutch municipalities, showed that 89% of the municipalities find the Dutch language skills of refugees as the most important barrier to labour market participation. It appeared that integration courses are not effective for helping refugees to find a job and consequently, additional language courses are needed. It can therefore be recommended that municipalities, as part of the Participation Act, should invest in providing language training to increase refugees' language proficiency. Municipalities can offer language training in various forms, such as an individual language buddy or classroom teaching.

Recommendation regarding a contact person

A third recommendation is related to the available information provided to employers. This study found that a contact person, who provides help when employers struggle with issues as insurances, the selection of refugees and the introduction on the work floor, is considered as helpful. It is therefore recommended that municipalities provide up-to-date and comprehensive information to those who want to hire a refugee. Within each municipality, there should be a person who is informed about the requirements and rights related to the employment of refugees and it should be easier for employers to find this person within municipalities. Moreover, when employers need more guidance, for instance, during an interview with a refugee or to communicate in the workplace, each municipality should provide a person who gives individually-tailored support. As a result, employers might have fewer concerns during the employment.

Recommendation regarding personal contact between employers and refugees

Finally, results of this research indicate the difficulty for employers to make a good estimation of the potential of refugees, based on a CV. In addition, there is a lack of personal contact between the group of refugees and employers (SER, 2016). It is therefore recommended for municipalities to organize activities to create more contact moments between employers and refugees. In this way, it is helpful for employers to get an indication of the skills and motivation of refugees and employers become more aware of the possibilities of employing a refugee, especially when the labour market is very tight. Municipalities can, for instance, organize speed dating days, in which employers within the same sector meet refugees who are willing to work in that sector or have a relevant background (Razenberg et al., 2017). When there are activities organized by municipalities, employers come in contact with refugees, and they can in an accessible way find out whether it is possible to employ a refugee within their organization. In return, this can lead to a better labour market participation of refugees.

7. References

- Abdelkerim, A. & Grace, M. (2012). Challenges to Employment in Newly Emerging African Communities in Australia: A Review of the Literature. *Australian Social Work*. Vol. 65, No. 1, pp. 104-119.
- Atzmüller, C. & Steiner, P.M. (2010). Experimental Vignette Studies in Survey Research. *Methodology*; Vol. 6(3):128–138.
- Azmat, F. & and Zutshi, A. (2012). Perceptions of corporate social responsibility amongst immigrant entrepreneurs. *Social responsibility journal*, vol. 8, no. 1, pp. 63-76.
- Babbie, E. (2013) *The Practice of Social Research*. Wadsworth: Cengage Learning.
- Bakker, L. (2015) *Seeking Sanctuary in the Netherlands: opportunities and obstacles to refugee integration*. Rotterdam: Erasmus University Rotterdam.
- Bakker, L., Dagevos, J. & Engbersen, G. (2016). Explaining the refugee gap: a longitudinal study on labour market participation of refugees in the Netherlands, *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 43:11, 1775-1791.
- Becker, G.S. (2007). Health as human capital: synthesis and extensions. *Oxford Economic Papers*, 59, 379–410.
- Berg, B. (2009). *Qualitative research methods. For the social science*. Pearson International Edition, California state, Long Beach.
- Blatter, J.K. & Haverland, M. (2014). *Designing Case Studies. Explanatory Approaches in Small-N Research*. Houndsmills Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bloch, A. (2007). Refugees in the UK Labour Market: The Conflict between Economic Integration and Policy-led Labour Market Restriction. *Cambridge University Press*. 37, 1, 21–36.
- Bills, D. B. (1992). A survey of employer surveys: What we know about labor markets from talking with bosses. *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility*, 11, 3–31.
- Bills, D. B. (2003). Credentials, Signals, and Screens: Explaining the Relationship Between Schooling and Job Assignment. *Review of Educational Research*, Vol. 73, No. 4, pp. 441–469.
- Brammer, S., Millington, A. & Rayton, B. (2007). The contribution of corporate social responsibility to organizational commitment. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, 18:10. 1701–1719.
- Buers, C., Karpinska, K. & Schippers, J. (2018). Managers' retention decisions regarding young intermediate-level educated employees, *International Journal of Manpower*, Vol. 39 Issue: 2, pp.254-268.
- Campbell, J.L. (2007). Why Would Corporations Behave in Socially Responsible Ways? An Institutional Theory of Corporate Social Responsibility. *The Academy of Management Review*, Vol. 32, No. 3 (Jul., 2007), pp. 946-967.
- Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (2007). *Meer kleine en minder grote bedrijven*. Retrieved from [<https://www.cbs.nl/nl-nl/nieuws/2007/38/meer-kleine-en-minder-grote-bedrijven>] at 29 May 2018.

- Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek (2018). *Uit de startblokken: cohortstudie naar recente arbeidsmigratie*. Den Haag: Centraal Bureau voor de Statistiek.
- Clark, P. C. Jr. (2013). The Effects of Multicollinearity in Multilevel Models. *Browse all Theses and Dissertations*. Paper 740. Accessed on June 7 via: http://corescholar.libraries.wright.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1879&context=etd_all.
- Colic-Peisker, V. & Tilbury, F. (2007). *Refugees and Employment: The effect of visible difference on discrimination*. Centre for Social and Community Research.
- Creswell, J. W., V. L. Plano Clark, M. Gutmann, and W. Hanson (2003). Advanced mixed methods research designs. In *Handbook on mixed methods in the behavioral and social sciences*, ed. A. Tashakkori and C. Teddlie, 209–40. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Dagevos, J. (2011) 'Positie op de arbeidsmarkt', blz. 108-125 in E. Dourleijn en J. Dagevos (red.) *Vluchtelingengroepen in Nederland: Over de integratie van Afghaanse, Iraanse, Iraakse en Somalische migranten*, Den Haag: SCP.
- Dawson, J. F. (2014). Moderation in management research: What, why, when, and how. *Journal of Business and Psychology*, 29(1), 1-19.
- Dickinson, L. M., & Basu, A. (2005). Multilevel modeling and practice-based research. *The Annals of Family Medicine*, 3(1), pp. 52-60.
- DiMaggio, P.J. & Powell, W.W. (1983). The Iron Cage Revisited: Institutional Isomorphism and Collective Rationality in Organizational Fields. *American Sociological Review*, Vol. 48, No. 2, pp. 147-160.
- DeVellis, R. F. (2017). *Scale development (4. ed.)*. Los Angeles: SAGE.
- Dulk, L. den (2001, juni 14). *Work-family arrangements in organisations. A cross-national study in the Netherlands, Italy, the United Kingdom and Sweden*. Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam (225 pag.).
- Dulk, L. den, Groeneveld, S., Ollier-Malaterre, A.& Valcour, M. (2013). National context in work-life research: A multilevel cross-national analysis of the adoption of workplace work-life arrangements in Europe. *European Management Journal*, 31, 478– 494.
- Dulk, L. den, Ruijter, J. de. (2008). Managing work-life policies: disruption versus dependency arguments. Explaining managerial attitudes towards employee utilization of work-life policies. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management*, Vol. 19, No. 7, 1222–1236.
- Engbersen, G., Dagevos, J., Jennissen, R., Bakker, L., Leerkes, A., Klaver, J.& Odé, A. (2015). Geen tijd te verliezen. Van opvang naar integratie van asielmigranten, in: *WRR Policy brief-4*.
- Eurofound (2008). *Management (MM) Questionnaire, International Master Version for all 30+ Countries covered by the ECS 2008*. European Company Survey: Luxemburg.
- European Commission (2016). *European Employment Policy Observatory Synthesis: Challenges faced by asylum seekers and refugees in successfully integrating into the labour market*. EEPO Network Services: Birmingham.

- European Commission (2017). *Public employment services (PES) initiatives around skills, competencies and qualifications of refugees and asylum seekers*. Publications Office of the European Union: Luxembourg.
- European Parliament (2016). *Labour Market Integration of Refugees: Strategies and good practices*. Brussels: March 2016.
- Field, A. (2013). *Discovering Statistics Using IBM SPSS*. London: Sage Publications Ltd.
- Frumkin, P. & Galaskiewicz, J. (2004). Institutional Isomorphism and Public Sector Organizations. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, Vol. 14, no. 3, p. 283- 307.
- Gezondheidsraad (2016). *Preserving and Improving the Mental Health of Refugees and Asylum Seekers. A Literature Review for the Health Council of the Netherlands*. Den Haag: Gezondheidsraad.
- Goodstein, J.D. (1994). Institutional Pressures and Strategic Responsiveness: Employer Involvement in Work-Family Issues. *The Academy of Management Journal*, Vol. 37, No. 2, pp. 350-382.
- Harcourt, M., Lam, H. & Harcourt, S. (2005). Discriminatory practices in hiring: institutional and rational economic perspectives. *The International Journal of Human Resource Management* 16: 11, 2113-2132.
- Hartog, J and A. Zorlu (2009). How Important is Homeland Education for Refugees' Economic Position in the Netherlands?. *Journal of Population Economics* 22: 219-46.
- Hosoda, M., Nguyen, L.T. & Stone-Romero, E.F. (2012). The effect of Hispanic accents on employment decisions. *Journal of Managerial Psychology*, Vol. 27 No. 4, pp. 347-364.
- Hox, J. (2010). *Multilevel Analysis. Techniques And Applications*. Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Inc.
- Hurstfield, J., Pearson, R., Hooker, H., Ritchie, H. & Sinclair, A. (2004). *Employing refugees: some organisations' experiences*. Institute for Employment Studies: Brighton.
- Ingram, P. & Simons, T. (1995). Institutional and Resource Dependence Determinants of Responsiveness to Work-Family Issues. *The Academy of Management Journal*, Vol. 38, No. 5, pp. 1466-1482.
- Jamali, D. (2008). A Stakeholder Approach to Corporate Social Responsibility: A Fresh Perspective into Theory and Practice. *Journal of Business Ethics*. 82:213–231.
- Kanas, A. & Van Tubergen, F. (2009). The Impact of Origin and Host Country Schooling on the Economic Performance of Immigrants. *Social Forces*, 88: 893-915.
- Karpinska, K., Henkens, K. & Schippers, J. (2010). The recruitment of early retirees: a vignette study of the factors that affect managers' decisions. *Ageing & Society*, 31, 570–589.
- Karpinska, K., Henkens, K. and Schippers, J. (2013). Retention of older workers: impact of managers' age norms and stereotypes. *European Sociological Review*, Vol. 29 No. 6, pp. 1323-1335.
- Kossek, E. E., & Pichler, S. (2006). EEO and the management of diversity. In P. Boxell, J. Purcell, & P. M. Wright (Eds.), *Handbook of Human Resource Management* (pp. 251-272). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

- Krippendorff, K. (2004), *Content Analysis: An Introduction to Its Methodology*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, Inc.
- LaHuis, D.M., Hartman, M.J., Hakoyama, S. & Clark, P.C. (2014). Explained Variance Measures for Multilevel Models. *Organizational Research Methods*, Vol. 17(4) 433-451.
- Lieberman, E. S. (2005). Nested Analysis as a Mixed-Method Strategy for Comparative Research. *American Political Science Review* 99(3): 435–52.
- Maguire, M. (1992). The role of employers in the labour market. In E. McLaughlin (Ed.), *Understanding unemployment : New perspectives on active labour market policies* (pp. 80–102). London: Routledge.
- March, J.G. & Olsen, J.P. (1998). The Institutional Dynamics of International Political Orders. *International Organization*, Vol. 52, No. 4, pp. 943-969.
- Mulgan, R. (2000). Comparing Accountability in the Public and Private Sectors. *National Council of the Institute of Public Administration*, p. 87-97.
- OECD & UNHCR (2016). Hiring refugees - What are the opportunities and challenges for employers? *Migration Policy Debates*. OECD/UNHCR, N10.
- Oliver, C. (1991). Strategic responses to institutional processes. *Academy of management review*, 16, pp. 145-179.
- Orlitzky, M., Schmidt, F.L. & Rynes, S.L. (2003). Corporate Social and Financial Performance: A Meta-analysis. *Organization Studies*. 24(3): 403–441.
- Ostrom, E. (1991). Rational choice theory and institutional analysis: towards complementarity. *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 85, No. 1 (Mar., 1991), pp. 237-243.
- Pitts, D. (2009). Diversity management, job satisfaction, and performance: Evidence from U.S. Federal Agencies. *Public Administration Review*, Vol. 69, No. 2, pp. 328-338.
- Pollitt, C. (2002). Clarifying Convergence. Striking similarities and durable differences in public management reform. *Public Management Review*, 3:4, 471-492.
- Razenberg, I., Gruijter, M. de (2016). *Vluchtelingen aan het werk: een enquête onder gemeenten over de arbeidstoelichting van vergunninghouders*. Kennisplatform Integratie & Samenleving.
- Razenberg, I. & Gruijter, M. de (2017). *Hoe kunnen gemeenten werkgevers ondersteunen bij het aannemen van vluchtelingen?* Kennisplatform Integratie & Samenleving.
- Razenberg, I., Kahmann, M. & Gruijter, M. de (2017). *Monitor gemeentelijk beleid arbeidstoeleiding vluchtelingen 2017. Vluchtelingen aan het werk, gemeenten in beweging*. Kennisplatform Integratie & Samenleving.
- Risberg, A. & Sørderberg, A. (2008). Translating a management concept: diversity management in Denmark. *Gender in Management: An International Journal*. Vol. 23 No. 6, pp. 426-441.
- Scott, W.R. (1995). *Institutions and Organizations*. Sage Publications: Thousand Oaks.

- Snijders, T. A. B. (2004). Multilevel analysis, in M. S. Lewis-Beck, A. Bryman & T. Futing Liao (Eds.), *The SAGE encyclopedia of social science research methods* (pp. 673-677). Thousand Oakes: Sage Publications.
- Sociaal-Economische Raad (2016). *Nieuwe wegen naar een meer succesvolle Arbeidsmarktintegratie van vluchtelingen*. Den Haag: December 2016.
- Tolbert, P.S. & Zucker, L.G. (1983). Institutional Sources of Change in the Formal Structure of Organizations: The Diffusion of Civil Service Reform, 1880-1935. *Administrative Science Quarterly*, Vol. 28, pp. 22-39.
- UNHCR (2010). *Convention and protocol relating to the status of refugees*. UNHCR: Geneva.
- UNHCR (2018). *Europe*. Retrieved from <http://www.unhcr.org/europe.html> at 25 July 2018.
- VluchtelingenWerk Nederland (2014). *VluchtelingenWerk IntegratieBarometer 2014. Een onderzoek naar de integratie van vluchtelingen in Nederland*. Amsterdam: Oktober 2014.
- VluchtelingenWerk Nederland (2018a). *Herkomstlanden van vluchtelingen*. Retrieved from <https://www.vluchtelingenwerk.nl/feiten-cijfers/landen-van-herkomst> at 19 February 2018.
- VluchtelingenWerk Nederland (2018b). *Vluchtelingen in getallen 2018*. Retrieved from https://www.vluchtelingenwerk.nl/sites/public/u640/20180719_vluchtelingen_in_getallen_%202018_allerdefinitiefste.pdf at 24 July 2018.
- Vroome, de, T. & Tubergen, van, F. (2010). The Employment Experience of Refugees in the Netherlands. *The International Migration Review*, Vol. 44, No. 2, pp. 376-403.
- Vuontisjärvi, T. (2006). Corporate Social Reporting in the European Context and Human Resource Disclosures: An Analysis of Finnish Companies. *Journal of Business Ethics*. 69:331–354.
- Yang, Y. & Konrad, A.M. (2011). Understanding Diversity Management Practices: Implications of Institutional Theory and Resource-Based Theory. *Group & Organization Management*. 36(1) 6–38.
- Werkwijzer Vluchtelingen (2018). *Regelingen*. Retrieved from [<https://www.werkwijzervluchtelingen.nl/werken/ondersteuning/regelingen.aspx>] at 29 March 2018.
- Williamson, I.O. (2000). Employer Legitimacy and Recruitment Success in Small Businesses. *Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice*. 27- 42.

Appendix A: coding tree

Concept	Dimension	Indicators	Measures
Employing refugees	A. Employing refugees	A.1. Employing refugees	A.1.1. Have employed refugees A.1.2. Have not employed refugees
Refugee characteristics	B. Education	B.1. Education that is relevant to the job B.2. Education obtained in host country or in origin country	B.1.1. Education that is relevant to the job B.1.2. Education that is not relevant to the job B.2.1. Education obtained in the Netherlands B.2.2. Education obtained outside the Netherlands
	C. Work experience	C.1. Job-related skills C.2. Workplace specific skills C.3. Work experience obtained in host country or in origin country	C.1.1. Has job-related experience C.1.2. Has not job-related experience C.2.1. Has workplace specific skills C.2.2. Has no workplace specific skills C.2.3. Degree of availability refugee C.3.1. Work experience obtained in host country C.3.2. Work experience obtained in origin country
	D. Dutch language skills	D.1. Knowing the Dutch language D.2. Knowing Dutch technical language	D.1.1. Knowledge of the Dutch language D.1.2. Not much knowledge of the Dutch language D.2.1. Knowledge of Dutch technical language D.2.2. Not much knowledge of Dutch technical language
	E. Health	E.1. Health situation	E.1.1. Healthy E.1.2. Unhealthy
	F. Motivation	Motivation	1.1. Is motivated 1.2. Is not motivated
Organizational characteristics	F. Corporate social responsibility	F.1. Corporate social commitment	F.1.1. Has a high degree of corporate social responsibility F.1.2. Has a low degree of corporate social responsibility
	E. Diversity management	E.1. Diversity policy E.2. Diversity in the workforce	E.1.1. Have diversity management policies E.1.2. Don't have diversity management policies E.2.1. % non-western employees
	F. Economic position	F.1. Financial position F.2. Resources to employ refugees	F.1.1. Healthy financial position F.1.2. Unhealthy financial position F.2.1. Available time F.2.2. Available money
	G. Level of difficulty fulfilling vacancies	G.1. Level of difficulty fulfilling vacancies	G.1.1. Vacancy that is hard to fulfil G.1.2. Vacancy that is easy to fulfil

	H. Public/ private sector	H.1. Visibility H.2. Sensitivity to social policy	H.1.1. Being visible H.1.2. Not being visible H.2.1. Sensitive to social policy H.2.2. Not sensitive to social policy
	I. Size	I.1. Visibility I.2. Capacities in terms of knowledge and experience	I.1.1. Being visible I.1.2. Not being visible I.2.1. Have capacities I.2.2. Don't have capacities
	Support	1. Internal support 2. External support	1.1. internal support 1.2. No internal support 2.1. External support 2.2. No external support
Institutional context	J. Behaviour of other employees	J.1. Practices of other organizations J.2. Paying attention to practices of other organizations J.3. Belonging to a network of similar organizations	J.1.1. Many employees in same sector have employed refugees J.1.2. Few employers in same sector have employed refugees J.2.1. Organization pays attention to practices of other organizations J.2.2. Organization does not pay attention to other organizations J.3.1. Part of a network J.3.2. Not part of a network
	K. Social policy	K.1. Presence of social policy within municipality K.2. Being informed	K.1.1. Presence of financial social policy in municipality K.1.2. Presence of other support K.2.1. Having personal contact with municipality K.2.2. Having personal contact with self-employed intermediary K.2.3. Clear available information K.2.4. Making clear agreements

Appendix B: Vignette study

Introductie onderzoek arbeidstoeleiding statushouders

Al geruime tijd komen grotere aantallen vluchtelingen naar Nederland. Gemeenten zijn via de Participatiewet verantwoordelijk voor de ondersteuning van statushouders (vluchtelingen met een verblijfsvergunningen) bij het vinden van werk. Van eerdere groepen statushouders is bekend dat hun arbeidsparticipatie laag is. Het Verwey-Jonker doet onderzoek naar de arbeidstoeleiding van statushouders. In het kader van dit onderzoek schrijf ik mijn afstudeerscriptie voor mijn master Bestuurskunde en richt ik mij op een specifiek aspect: het perspectief van werkgevers. Het doel van dit onderzoek is om inzicht te krijgen in factoren die van invloed zijn op het aannemen van statushouders door werkgevers. Om dit te onderzoeken heb ik een vragenlijst gemaakt. Ik nodig u van harte uit om deze vragenlijst in te vullen. Dit duurt ongeveer 10 minuten. Uiteraard worden individuele gegevens anoniem verwerkt.

De resultaten van dit onderzoek worden gebruikt om inzicht te krijgen in de behoefte van werkgevers bij het aannemen van statushouders op de arbeidsmarkt. Indien u belangstelling heeft in de resultaten van het onderzoek, kunt u na afloop van de vragenlijst uw e-mailadres opgeven.

Voor meer informatie kunt u contact opnemen met mij via jvandermeer@verwey-jonker.nl of telefonisch op 06-34390251.

Alvast hartelijk dank voor uw medewerking.

Met hartelijke groet,
Joëlle van der Meer

1. De vragenlijst begint met een aantal achtergrondvragen. Wat is uw functie binnen de organisatie?

- Directielid, eigenaar
- Hoofd/ medewerker P&O/ HRM
- Bedrijfsleider, leidinggevende, manager
- Anders, namelijk... _____

2. Is uw organisatie werkzaam in de publieke of private sector?

- Publieke sector & semi publieke sector
- Private sector

3. In welke sector bent u werkzaam?

- Landbouw en visserij
- Industrie
- Bouwnijverheid (bijv. bouwbedrijf, installatiebedrijf, afwerking)
- Handel (bijv. winkel, detailhandel, groothandel, garage)
- Horeca
- Transport en communicatie (bijv. vervoer over de weg, water en door de lucht, post, telecomunicatie)
- Financiële sector (bijv. banken, verzekeringsmaatschappijen, pensioenfondsen)
- Zakelijke dienstverlening (bijv. onroerend goed, ICT, onderzoeksinstituten, juridische en economische dienstverlening, architecten en technische adviesbureaus, beveiliging, schoonmaakbedrijven)
- Overheid (bijv. openbaar bestuur, politie, defensie, gemeenten)
- Onderwijs (bijv. basisonderwijs, voortgezet, hoger en overig onderwijs)
- Gezondheids en-welzijnszorg (bijv. ziekenhuis, woonzorgcentra, ouderenzorg, verpleeghuis, maatschappelijk werk, thuiszorg)
- Cultuur, sport, recreatie en overige diensten
- Anders, namelijk... _____

Helemaal mee eens

10. Het werken tussen managers/ leidinggevendenden/ teamleiders en werknemers met verschillende culturele achtergronden gaat goed.

- Helemaal mee oneens
- Mee oneens
- Niet mee eens, niet mee oneens
- Mee eens
- Helemaal mee eens
- Niet van toepassing

11. Mijn organisatie is maatschappelijk betrokken.

- Helemaal mee oneens
- Mee oneens
- Niet mee eens, niet mee oneens
- Mee eens
- Helemaal mee eens

12. Mijn organisatie heeft voldoende capaciteit op de werkvloer om een statushouder in dienst te nemen.

- Helemaal mee oneens
- Mee oneens
- Niet mee eens, niet mee oneens
- Mee eens
- Helemaal mee eens

13. Ik ken andere werkgevers in mijn sector die ook een statushouder in dienst hebben genomen.

- Helemaal mee oneens
- Mee oneens
- Niet mee eens, niet mee oneens
- Mee eens
- Helemaal mee eens

14. Hoe beoordeelt u de economische situatie van uw organisatie?

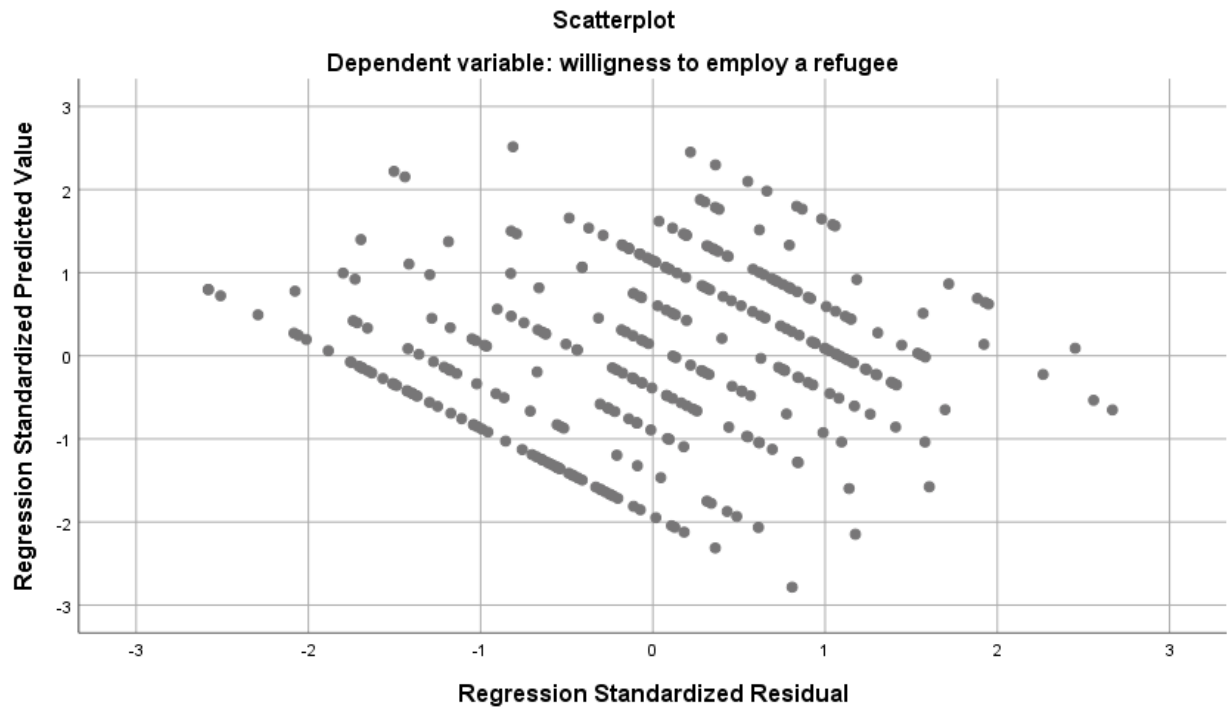
- Heel goed
- Goed
- Niet goed, niet slecht
- Slecht
- Heel slecht

Dit is het einde van de vragenlijst. Heeft u nog aanvullende vragen of opmerkingen?

Wilt u na afronding van dit onderzoek de resultaten ontvangen, laat dan hier uw e-mailadres achter.

Hartelijk dank voor uw tijd!

Appendix C: Scatterplot



This scatterplot shows the homogeneity of variance and the linearity of the data of this study.